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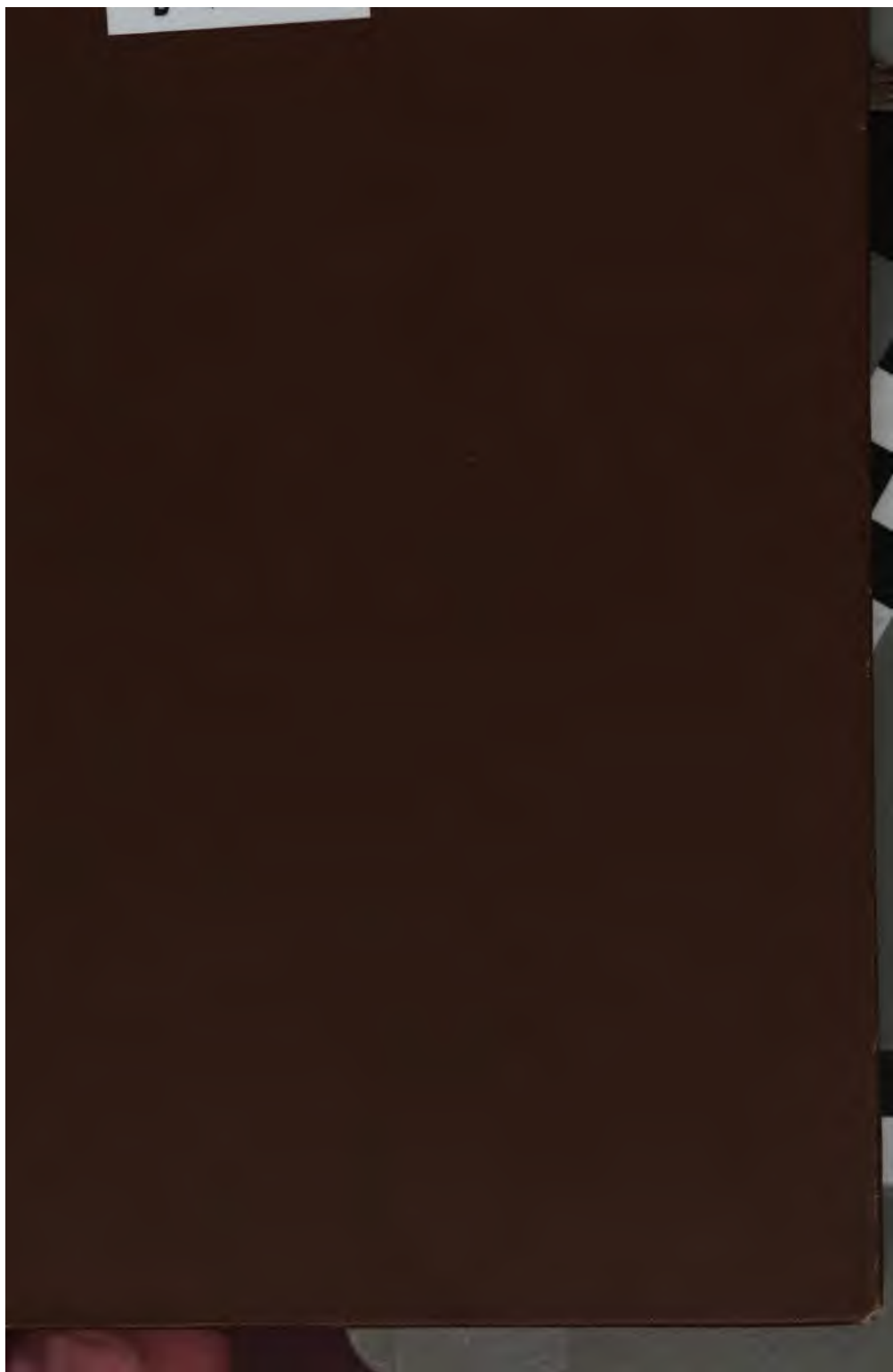
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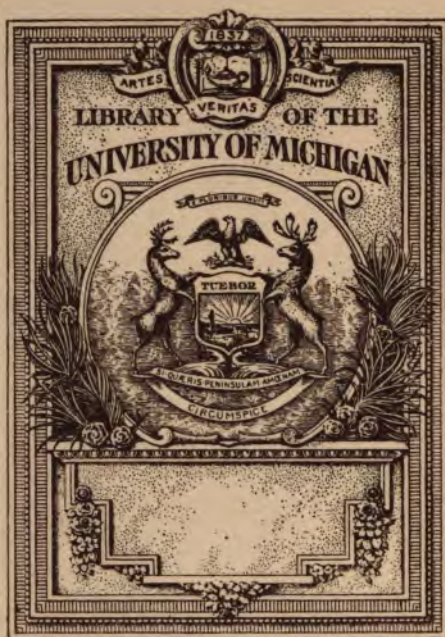
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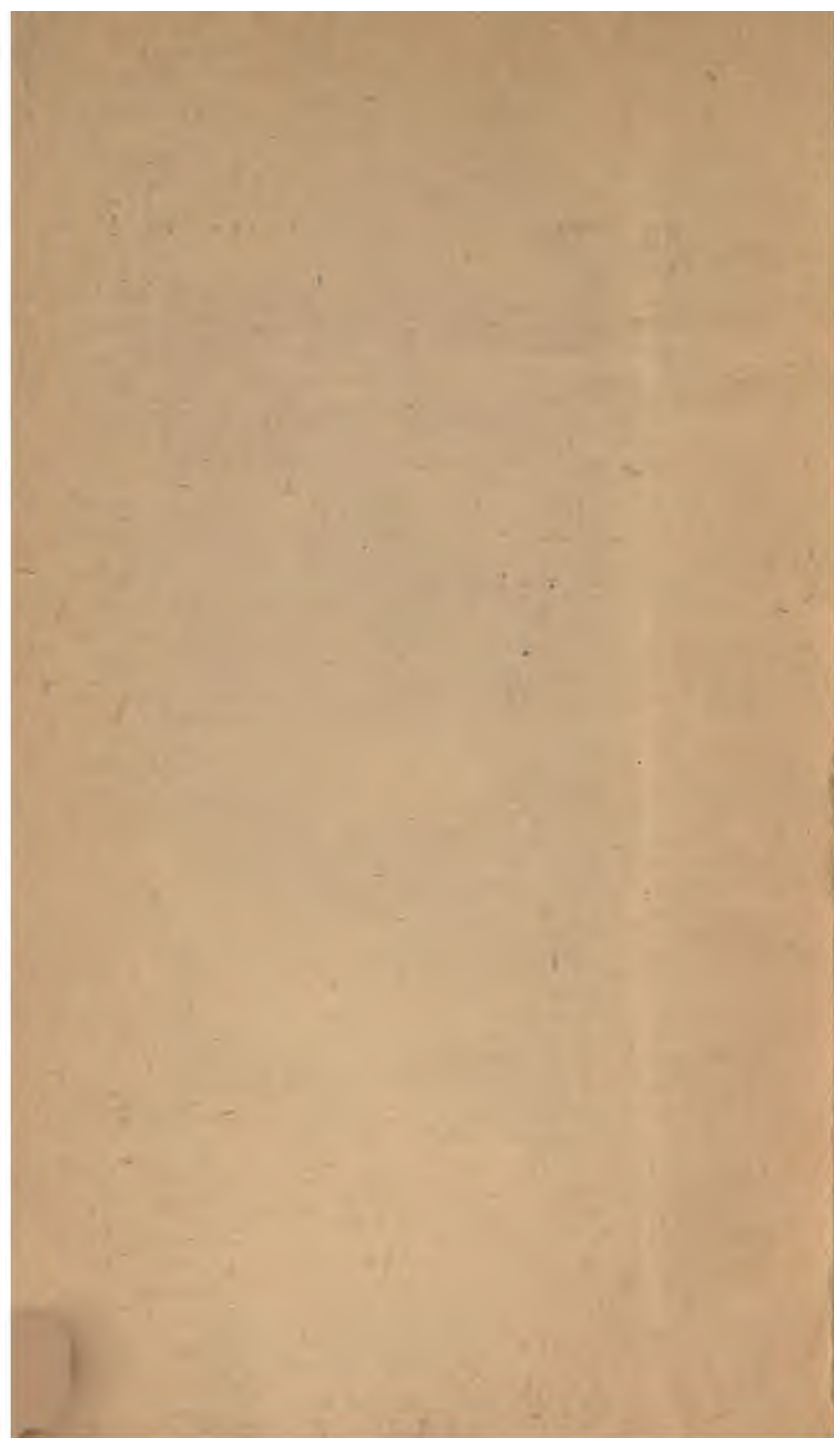




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# INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN OLD SPANISH

BY  
WILFRED A. BEARDSLEY

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
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**IN OLD SPANISH**





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## INTRODUCTION

When the study of the infinitive and its attendant locutions suggested itself as a desirable contribution to the understanding of Spanish syntax, the subject was first thought of with especial reference to the present-day forms of speech. A little application and reflection, however, was sufficient to establish the importance of laying a sure foundation on the testimony of the earliest literary documents. In the course of time it has come about that the present volume is at last submitted to scholars in the modest hope that it may serve not only as a systematic record of the facts in the case, but also and especially as an aid in the comprehension of modern phenomena in the light of their origin and historical relations.

Two distinct methods of treating the available material are well illustrated by the two earlier outstanding studies of a similar nature: by Richard Otto's *Der portugiesische Infinitiv bei Camões* and R. Dittes's *Über den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altprovenzalischen*, to be found respectively in volumes 6 and 15 of *Romanische Forschungen*. Otto coördinates his material in chapters on *the pure infinitive, the infinitive with á, the infinitive with de, etc.*, completing, as he advances, under the caption of the various prepositions, each successive division of his entire subject. Dittes, on the other hand, considers of prime interest the grammatical category to which each of the infinitive constructions belongs, e.g., *the infinitive as subject, the infinitive as object, etc.* Each of these two methods has its obvious advantages, the first chiefly in that it emphasizes the importance of the function of the preposition in the various infinitive locutions, the second in that it follows more consistently a well-ordered grammatical plan. That of Otto is the more practical,

because it relates itself the more readily to the facts of the modern language, the infinitive being generally thought of not as a grammatical abstraction but as a dependent of its prepositional concomitant. It is also the more feasible because it avoids the juxtaposition of numerous heterogeneous examples that occurs when large grammatical categories, such as the "infinitive as object," are manipulated in aggregations that are bound to become unwieldy. Dittes, for example, assembles under the object-infinitive no less than fifteen groups of verbs, classified according to general resemblances of meaning, to which he is compelled to append — in a final counsel of desperation — a sixteenth group of unclassifiable cases (verbs *die sich in keine der bisher angeführten Gruppen einreihen lassen*). If Dittes had made a really thoroughgoing study of his entire field — which unfortunately he was very far from doing — he would doubtless have found himself involved in various still more trying complications. Subtleties of classification may make a certain appeal to the investigator's cunning, but have little if any value to the outside world; on the contrary, they definitely detract from a clear vision and apprehension of the actual problems in hand, since the greater part of the investigator's effort is directed towards the systematization rather than toward the elucidation of the many interesting phenomena encountered in his quest.

These treatises by Otto and Dittes may also serve as striking examples of two divergent notions as to the choice of the territory to be covered in such investigations. Dittes undauntedly selects a whole literature and then proceeds to glean an occasional illustration from each of a large number of sources. Otto, on the other hand, studies the use of the infinitive as exemplified in Camões alone, but does so in such careful detail that valuable bases for comparison as to the frequency, import, scope and *nuances* of each individual construction are offered for the edification of the reader. In accomplishing this, Otto has at the same time pointed a valuable moral. If an investigation of this type is not exhaustive, it misses the greater part of its potential significance. It is not enough to give a cursory

consideration to the more striking and conspicuous phenomena; the rare and remote construction may be the very one that is needed to demonstrate an obscure but interesting point.

In the present study an earnest effort has been made to treat thoroughly a few of the earliest texts of the old Spanish literature rather than to cover all texts in a necessarily superficial and inadequate way. Continual use has been made of R. Menéndez Pidal's masterly edition of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, both because of the excellent text of the *Cid* therein provided and because of the many keen observations made by this foremost Spanish scholar on all the phenomena noted in his poem. Of Gonzalo de Berceo all the extant works have been utilized, the edition of John D. Fitz-Gerald for the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and that of Antonio Solalinde for *El Sacrificio de la Misa*, along with Florencio Janer's presentment of Berceo's poems in Volume 57 of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. These latter include, beside *La Vida del . . . Sancto Domingo de Silos* and *Del Sacrificio de la Missa*, *La Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan*, *El Martirio de Sant Laurencio*, *Loores de Nuestra Sennora*, *De los Signos que apareçeran ante del Juicio*, *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*, *El Duelo que fizo la Virgen Maria el Dia de la Pasion de su Fijo Jesu Christo* and the *Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen*. Morel-Fatio's edition of the Paris manuscript of the *Libro de Alixandre* has been made use of, as well as Janer's text in the *Autores Españoles*. By way of contrast with the above poetical works the *Primera Crónica General* (edition of R. Menéndez Pidal) was chosen because it contains an abundance of prose in a well-established text, and because the plural authorship offers a greater variety of constructions than would be found in other texts of similar extent. By reason of its slightly later date the *Crónica* not only offers a most valuable basis for comparison between the prose and the poetry, but serves excellently to indicate the progressive tendencies of the language in ordinary use.

Detailed mention need not be made here of all the works consulted in the progress of this study; these are more appropriately noted elsewhere. It may be said, however, that the



monumental works of Diez and of Meyer-Lübke on the grammar of the Romance languages have been found of the greatest possible usefulness, the syntactical theories of Diez having often proved themselves peculiarly sound, in spite of the fact that in special fields his investigations have been largely superseded by those of more recent scholars.

While this volume has been in course of publication there has appeared under the auspices of the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" and of R. Menéndez Pidal *La Oración y sus Partes* by Rodolfo Lenz — a syntactical study of modern Spanish along the newer psychological lines. This volume marks a decided departure from the traditional view of words and their relations, and must be taken serious account of by future expositors of Spanish syntax. The work is of special interest to linguistic scholars in general as well as to Hispanists, inasmuch as the well-known Chilean investigator has made in it an abundance of comparisons between constructions in Spanish, English, German, and South American Indian dialects. Regret must be expressed that more intimate references to it have not been possible in the body of this study.

To Professor Henry R. Lang of Yale University most cordial thanks are due for the suggestion of the subject treated and for the direction of initial efforts; to Professor Federico de Onís of Columbia University for valuable advice; and particularly to Professor Henry A. Todd of Columbia University for constant inspiration and aid during all stages of its development.

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November, 1920.

# PART I

## THE PURE INFINITIVE

### I. THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE

1. Brugmann<sup>1</sup> shows the origin of the infinitive to have been in the so-called *nomina actionis*, and he states:

An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun. . . . Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system, they passed through a number of intermediate stages, and hence it is often hard to say whether any particular form should be called an infinitive in the strict sense of the word.

In Latin the infinitive showed close similarity to the noun, but was capable of use only in the nominative and accusative cases.<sup>2</sup> It is true that as a substantive it could take the possessive adjective with it, but otherwise it was much restricted. In the early Romance period, when case distinctions disappeared, there disappeared also the distinction between noun and infinitive caused by difference of form. At this point, then, began the fusion of noun and infinitive uses that has progressed to so great an extent in all the Romance tongues. This dual nature — viz., of substantive and of verb — is generally quite easily perceptible in the infinitive, even in those Old Spanish occurrences where the infinitive is clearly treated as a substantive. The capacity of the infinitive to stand in

<sup>1</sup> *Comp. Gram. of the Indo-Germ. Lang.*, II, p. 470.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, p. 23, § 16.

a coördinate construction with a noun is shown by the following passages:

sobrepuiaua en piedad et en dar elmosnas *Cron* 688a21  
 et non de muerte nin morir, mas uenir *Cron* 701b50  
 ca tal muerte conuiene a nos, et tomarla en tal articulo *Cron*  
 701b45  
 con largos abondos de armas e de lidiar *Cron* 703b5  
 prometiendoles . . . mucho bien et mucha merçed, et meiorarles los fueros, et baxarles los pechos *Cron* 705a42  
 demandaron fabla et traer pleytesia con el rey *Cron* 766a37

In these citations the verb nature of the infinitive is clearly seen, yet also the ease with which it is used in noun constructions. None of the customary marks of the infinitive as substantive are noted here, such as the presence of the article or of a descriptive or possessive adjective. In such instances as *un beuer*, etc., the concrete sense can hardly be mistaken. An approximation of infinitive to substantive can be seen in those instances where the simple infinitive is employed for either active or passive meaning, that is, where the action of the verb is merely named but not specified; e.g., in such phrases as *digno de adorar* it is possible to consider the verb as either active or passive, and only the context of the individual passage determines the point. In these places Latin would use the active infinitive for the active sense, and the passive infinitive for the passive sense, while in Romance the single form does duty for both senses. (The active and the passive infinitive forms of Latin were reduced to a single form in Romance, *amare* and *amari* both giving *amar*, etc. In the third conjugation analogy caused the adoption of the active form, *duci* disappearing in favor of *ducere*.) This does not mean that the regular compound passive, made up of *esse* or *stare* with past participle, was not used in Romance, but that in the early language the simple infinitive is much the more common with either active or passive meaning. The verb force of the infinitive, even when used as a substantive, appears more clearly in such a phrase as *el venir yo* than in *mi venir*. Furthermore, the

infinitive as substantive can take an object, a fact that proves the full verb value of this doubly useful form (*el tomar la villa*, etc.). Diez says that Spanish surpasses her sister languages in the varied constructions of the infinitive,<sup>1</sup> and it is indeed true that the uses in Spanish are both numerous and delicate. In the realm of the infinitive as substantive Old Spanish is extremely prolific, whether in prose or poetry, whether in the earliest or the latest texts. In the following pages will be indicated the infinitives as substantives used with simple article modifiers, a comparatively small class; those with more complicated modifiers, such as the adjectives of different kinds; those found in the plural; those with subjective and objective genitive; and lastly those having an object expressed.

#### THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE UNMODIFIED OR WITH THE ARTICLE ONLY

2. The article with an infinitive was sufficient guarantee of the substantival nature of the latter to justify the employment of any given infinitive in the capacity of a noun.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the article did not by any means eliminate the verb value of the infinitive, but gave it a better right to act as subject or to take its place in a group of substantives. Among the infinitives used as substantives with no modification or with the articles only, the following show almost complete loss of verb force: *auer*, *beuer*, *pesar*, *plazer*, *poder*, *saber*. Yet such loss cannot be assumed as complete because of the frequency of use of any infinitive as substantive. A somewhat similar situation, but showing more of the verb, is noted in the English *holdings*, where even in the plural a vividness impossible in an ordinary substantive is given the word by the verb element present. Doubtless this can become a minimum, yet that it disappears completely is improbable. On the other hand, the verb idea is so predominant in *andar*, *correr*, *ferir*, *morir*, etc. that whether article or adjective is present to modify

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 225.

these infinitives or not, their substantival nature is not allowed to become conspicuous. In actual documents the number of infinitives with simple article modifiers is comparatively small, while those with more complicated modifiers, adjectives and adverbs, are frequent. A special *temporal* sense is present in *al* with an infinitive. This construction is current in our texts, the *Cid* yielding seven examples. The infinitive can take an object (*al leer estos duelos*), or a possessive adjective (*al so mandar*, Cron 66b41), but generally there is a genitive construction to be found. Illustrations of this are: *Al cargar de las arcas*, *Cid* 170; *al tirar de la lança*, *Cid* 3686; *al mudar de los sacos*, Cron 34a29. With verbs of motion, the genitive construction sometimes coincides with the *de* meaning *from*: *Al salir de la missa*, *Cid* 2070; *al partir del abbat*, *Cid* 1441; *Al salir de la eclesia*, *Cid* 2241. Other examples of the *al temporal* are: *Cid* 859, 2687, 3370; Cron 116b45, 255b6, 428b14, 492a29, 624a27.

The adaptability of the infinitive as substantive is well shown in:

Cinco sesos del cuerpo que nos façen peccar,  
El ver, el oir, el oler, el gostar,  
El prender de las manos que diçimos tastar *Mil* 121

and in:

Rey de los Reyes, que non conosçes par,  
en tu mano jaze el toller y el dar,  
el alçar e el premir, el ferir e el sanar *Aliz* 2562

el ajuntar *Cid* 373  
del andar e del planto *SMil* 353, *Aliz* 2010  
non puedo traer el auer *Cid* 91  
perderie los aueres *Cid* 27

*Auer* also occurs in *Cid* 1254, 1261, 2260, 2495, 2529; *SDom* 114, 366; *Soria* 94; *Mil* 629; *Aliz* 61, 375, etc.

un beuer *Cron* 30a46, 30a49  
en el cantar *Aliz* 1689, 144  
en vn caualgar *Aliz* 1991

el comer . . . con dolor lo comades *Aliz* 1724  
 El cometer fue malo *Cid* 3542  
 destoruan mucho el correr *Cron* 43a51  
 el dar le vale *Aliz* 62  
 razones del disputar *Cron* 189a34  
 non perdere el dormir *Aliz* 584, 28  
 tolloli el fablar *SDom* 560  
 Quando vynier al ferir *Aliz* 75  
 e el fuyr peor *Aliz* 1052  
 valen vn lydiar *Aliz* 60, 573, 759  
 destas es el manar muy ayna quedado *Aliz* 1599  
 Del minguar dize . . . *Cron* 66a10  
 el morir era malo *Aliz* 1052  
 al mover todas se esperaban *Mil* 8  
 ovo fuertes signos en el nasçer *Aliz* 2568  
 tolloli el oyr *SDom* 560  
 por dexar el pedir *SDom* 107  
 auie el pesar oluidado *Aliz* 636

*Pesar* is also used in *Aliz* 34, 35, 507, 584, 636; *SLaur* 102; *SDom* 191; *Sig* 30; *Cid* 313, 1270, 1647, 2026, 2311, 3441, etc.

en plazer caya a nos *Cid* 2629

*Plazer* also occurs in *Duelo* 45, 62; *SLaur* 102; *Aliz* 120, 1824, 1963; *Sac* 107; *Mil* 741.

un poder *Himnos* 1. 6  
 en poder dessos *Cid* 2001

*Poder* is also noted in *Cid* 669, 967, 2122, 2161, 2546, 3536; *SDom* 177, 222; *Mil* 71, 743, etc.

Al posar . . . todos se esperaban *Mil* 8  
 creença e saber *Himnos* 1. 6; *Aliz* 16; *Mil* 828  
 duró el segudar *Cid* 777, 1148, 2407  
 Sequiere leyenda, siquiere el signar *Sac* 39

#### THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE IN PLURAL

3. With the sign of the plural the infinitive loses its verbal quality almost entirely, and is in large part restricted to its concrete noun sense. It will be noticed that in most cases

the infinitives cited have been accepted as a part of the noun treasure of the language, and except philologically would hardly be classed under the category of infinitives. *Velares*, however, is an example of an infinitive in the plural retaining a considerable portion of its verbal force (*en combatimientos et torneos et en velares*, Cron 746a18).

darian de sus averes *SDom* 743

averes menguados *SLaur* 56

Los aueres que tenemos grandes son *Cid* 2541

*Aueres* also occurs in *Cid* 27, 45, 101, 172, 795, 1218, 1249, 1800, 1978, 2257, 2529, 2541, 2550, 2552, 2705, 2912, 3206, 3216, 3218, 3222, 3236b, 3262, 3294, 3440, 3498; *Aliz* 1575, 1585, 1862, 1863, 1873; *Mil* 627, 629.

mas que otros cantares *SDom* 318

cantares de llantos *Cron* 14a11

cantares dalegría *Cron* 41b33

veyendo los comeres *Aliz* 2364

adúzenle los comeres *Cid* 1019

dandoles . . . pozon en los comeres *Cron* 126a3, 134b17

tantos maniares *Cron* 117b2

adobar maniares *Cron* 533b28

Grandes son los pesares *Cid* 3697

nin veriemos nosotros tantos malos pesares *Aliz* 1802

fazienle muchos plazeres *Cron* 246a47

plazeres malos et lixosos *Cron* 271b26

grandes son los poderes *Cid* 669, 967

allego sus poderes *Aliz* 1167, 821

Plego grandes poderes *Aliz* 1169, 1669, 1869; *SMill* 454

las artes de los saberes *Cron* 137b20

sabidor . . . en todos los saberes de la egleſia *Cron* 159b11

çenas et . . . yantares *Sig* 40

adobar de jantares *Aliz* 2469

guisaua sus yantares *Cron* 138a43

## THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE VARIOUSLY MODIFIED

4. Examples are given in this section of the most current constructions of the early language in which the infinitive acts as a substantive with various modifiers, such as descriptive, demonstrative, and possessive adjectives. As noted by Diez,<sup>1</sup> the adverbs *bien* and *mal* (*bien estar*, *mal estar*, etc.) can be combined with an infinitive to form new substantives. Thus by utilizing the infinitive in numerous new combinations, a considerable new vocabulary with no small degree of color and vividness was ready for popular use. For this is the main function of the infinitive as substantive, that it lends vividness and color to almost every phrase in which it is employed. Observe the difference between *el morir* and *la muerte*, *el ferir* and *la ferida* (the *dying* and the *death*, the *striking* and the *stroke*). As mentioned before, this quality, due to the presence of the verb in the infinitive, may become extremely small, so that a close approximation to ordinary nouns may result (in this group *auer*, *comer*, *ianlar*, *pesar*, *plazer*, *poder*, *vagar*). This is doubtless largely due to their frequency of use, and to the absence of any adequate nominal synonyms for the concepts involved. But it seems to be more a matter of degree of loss of verb strength than of absolute loss, since it requires little effort to see even in these instances a part of the verb element surviving.

de mucho andar *Aliz* 2243

al mayor andar *Cron* 560a7

a grant andar *Cron* 731a4

grant aver<sup>2</sup> *SDom* 177, 306; *Mil* 379; *Cid* 617

auer monedado *Cid* 126, 1217; *Aliz* 227, 969, 1266; *Mil* 876; *SDom* 420; *Sig* 42

aueres monedados *Cid* 172, 2257, 3236

aver prestado *Mil* 641

aver acreido *Mil* 684

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *auer*.



aver en creido *Mil* 631, 672  
 aueres a nombre *Cid* 2705, 3262

*Auer* variously modified also occurs in *Cid* 101, 110, 125, 133, 484, 510, 617, 1218, 2468, 2550, 2552, 2912, 3206, 3216, 3222, 3294, 3440, 3498; *SDom* 743; *Mil* 627, 672, 678, 680; *Duelo* 62 -

aquel beuer *Cron* 30a49  
 con buen beuer *Aliz* 2133  
 con el primer beuer *Aliz* 2569

aquel bollir fizo se con grand fuerça *Cron* 52b17

Las coplas deste cantar *Cid* 2276

todo el comer nombramos *Sac* 251  
 delgado comer *Cron* 680a40

de buen conoçer *Aliz* 119  
 de menor conoçer *Aliz* 1606

rrey . . . de tan buen creer *Aliz* 1417  
 secund el mi creer *Mil* 645; *SMill* 140  
 a mi creer *Mil* 738

el su cresçer *Cron* 671a14  
 Sobreste cresçer e minguar dell imperio *Cron* 66a10

segunt mj cuidar *SDom* 581  
 al mio cuydar *Cron* 622a22

Non es nuestro deçir *Loor* 191

(with *adverb*) tu bien estar *Aliz* 1254, 1073  
 todo su mal estar *Sac* 53  
 por mayor onta e mejor estar *Aliz* 1695

(with *adverb*) non podie auer bien fazer *Cron* 719b26  
 sobreste ferir *Cron* 74a54

*Iantar* is the only feminine substantive-infinitive in Old Spanish. The feminine here is doubtless due to the frequent association of *iantar* with *çena*, as suggested by Cornu (*Romania* XIII, p. 307). At least five instances of such association are noted in our texts: *a iantar nin a çena*, *SMill* 192; *çena o yantar*, *SDom* 300; *nin çena nin yantar*, *SDom* 499; *a iantar e a çena*,

*Mil* 277; *mengua de iantar nin de çena*, *Mil* 298; *malas çenas e peores yantares*, *Sig* 40.

creció en la iantar *Cid* 304  
 se guisaua la yantar *Cron* 433a37  
 dar yantar (a) *SDom* 355; *SMill* 257; *SLaur* 105  
 Grand yantar le fazen *Cid* 285

*Iantar* as substantive also appears in *SMill* 231 and *Cron* 665b45.

de mucho yazer *Alix* 2243  
 al so mandar *Cron* 66b41  
 en lugar dotro maniar *Cron* 93a7  
 un mal maniar *Duelo* 35  
 grant mal paresçer *Alix* 26  
 muy buen paresçer *SDom* 613  
 su bel paresçer *Alix* 2405  
 mi paresçer *Alix* 2243  
 grand pesar *Cid* 959; *Alix* 40, 588, 2123; *Soria* 145; *Mil* 398, 489, 601, 682, 791; *SMill* 76, 191, 233, 297  
 peor pesar *SMill* 254  
 a todo su pesar *SDom* 332, 416; *Alix* 156, 1264  
 a todo lur pesar *Alix* 213  
 tantos malos pesares *Alix* 1802  
 fiero pesar *Sig* 8; *Alix* 1404  
 auer pesar *Cid* 959, 1403, 1647, 2026, 2311; *SDom* 191; *Alix* 40, 1397, 1600, 1997, 2164, 2245, 2515, 2533  
 caer en pesar (a) *Cid* 313, 1270; *Alix* 2259  
 fazer pesar (a) *Alix* 35  
 grant plaçer *Mil* 488, 490, 625; *Alix* 3, 1539  
 mayor plaçer *SMill* 235  
 mucho plaçer *Soria* 153  
 a todo su plazer *Alix* 382  
 auer plazer *SDom* 282, 306, 568; *Alix* 1539, 1616, 1824, 1963, 2133, 2574  
 caer en plazer (a) *SDom* 99; *Cid* 2629; *Alix* 120; *Duelo* 45  
 fazer plazer (a) *Sac* 107; *Cid* 2150

grant poder *Mil* 388; *SMill* 235; *SDom* 287, 551; *Loor* 155;  
*Sig* 10; *Aliz* 722, 1091, 1341, 1629, 1808, 1869, 2636  
 todo tu (su, etc.) poder *Aliz* 77, 487, 563, 1046, 1870; *SDom*  
 306; *Mil* 738  
 en poder de *Aliz* 54; 180; *Cid* 2001, 2122, 2161, 3536  
 a poder de *Aliz* 563, 665, 1329  
 aver poder de *Aliz* 996; *SDom* 581  
 dar poder (a) *SDom* 222, 287, 1630; *Aliz* 2296  
 tener en poder *SDom* 177; *Aliz* 120

*Poder* is used in similar locutions in *Cid* 486, 2105; *SMill* 454;  
*Loor* 23; *SDom* 82, 99, 153, 287, 292, 576.

su querer *Aliz* 1542; *SMill* 164  
 de su regnar *Cron* 668a36  
 las uenas del respirar *Cron* 76b42  
 por otro saber *Duelo* 91  
 vuestro bien seer *Sac* 107  
 de otro semejar *Aliz* 2247  
 auer vagar *SMill* 150; *Loor* 116, 174; *SDom* 384; *Cid* 2367;  
*Mil* 608; *Aliz* 957, 996, 1900, 1994  
 dar vagar (a) *Cid* 3308, 3432; *Aliz* 80, 537, 564, 618, 626, 724,  
 1077, 1090, 1316, 1558; *SMill* 445; *SLaur* 75, 88; *Duelo* 7;  
*Cron* 403b10  
 darse vagar *Aliz* 202, 532, 586, 1713, 2076, 2217, 2567;  
*SMill* 415; *SLaur* 102; *Cid* 434, 650, 1823, 2921; *Cron* 403b40  
 estar de vagar *Aliz* 1796  
 estar en vagar *Loor* 102; *Cron* 404b4  
 del mucho uelar *Cron* 17b47  
 a tod el velar *Cid* 2138  
 en su versificar *Aliz* 232, 2077

#### THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE WITH SUBJECTIVE GENITIVE

5. This construction offers a minimum of interest to our study because the extreme frequency of the phenomenon in the languages of today renders it familiar to all, and there

little that can be added from Old Spanish. The noun or pronoun in the genitive relation is active, as opposed to the inactivity of the noun in genitive relation in the objective genitive construction. It is sometimes not clearly indicated whether a given genitive is acting or acted upon, whether the genitive is subjective or objective. Theoretically all cases in which the infinitive is transitive are open to confusion, actually the context permits a satisfactory solution in nearly all instances: *el prender de las manos que dijimos tastar*, Mil 121.

Sobrete crescer e minguar dell imperio Cron 66a10

est escreuir de las yentes Cron 99b42

el saber de los romanos Cron 185b3

el crescer et el descreçer de la luna Cron 222a18

El cuydar de los omnes todo es vanidat Akz 968

del velar de la noche era mal quebrantado Akz 1307

#### THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE WITH OBJECTIVE GENITIVE

6. This construction is more important to our study than that with subjective genitive because the infinitive retains a considerable part of its force as a verb, so that the noun or pronoun in the genitive is felt to be the real object of the transitive verb used. As mentioned above, the exact relation in these genitive phrases is not always clear, especially when the infinitive is transitive, and therefore open to two interpretations. Of this kind is *el saber de los romanos*, Cron 185b3, where *romanos* might theoretically be either the knowing or the known. The class of intransitive verbs of motion, with which the *de* indicates separation, is open to the same double rendering. Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> says of *al partir del abbat*, Cid 1441: "á veces coincide la forma del genitivo con el régimen propio del verbo." A good example of the infinitive as substantive with objective genitive (also infinitive) not open to confusion is Cron 85b44: *es el saber*

<sup>1</sup> Cid I, § 159.

*de fablar apuestamiente*, where the *de* is evidently due to the substantival use of *saber*, since the verb *saber* does not need any *de* with its object.

Examples of the objective genitive are:

Al cargar de las archas veriedes gozo tanto *Cid* 170  
 al tirar de la lança *Cid* 3686  
 el saber de las estrellas *Cron* 658b22  
 ell fincar de los ynoios *Cron* 680a46  
 el usar de sus leyes *Cron* 103b19  
 el soltar de Sant Pedro *Cron* 120b6  
 al bendezir de las mesas *Cron* 492a29  
 del aorar de los idolos *Cron* 230b14

#### THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE WITH OBJECT

7. Diez says<sup>1</sup> that the substantive-infinitive having an object is more precise than the same having an objective genitive. He cites the case of *il trepassar del fiume*, which is capable of the same double meaning as *el uencer de Roma*, *Cron* 232a18. It is evident that if the *de* is omitted with verbs taking a direct object, the most precise mode of expression is employed. The construction is quite rare in Old Spanish, though Otto states<sup>2</sup> that Castilian, Catalan, and Portuguese surpass all the other Romance languages in its use. It is interesting to note that he says also that Camões does not give a single example of this phenomenon in the *Luciades*, considering it non-classical. None of our own citations come from the *Cid*, and only one from Berceo.

Complia dias e noches todo su ministerio:  
 Ieiunios e vigalias e rezar el psalterio *SOria* 112  
 mandara el desfazer la ymagen de Jupiter . . . et leualla a Roma  
*Cron* 118a34  
 mando basteçer las fortalezas el refazer los muros de las uillas  
*Cron* 293b32  
 fazie muchas epistolas del aorar de los idolos et de poner en  
 los templos ell altar del uençimiento *Cron* 230b14

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom. Forsch.* VI, p. 306.

## II. THE VERBAL PURE INFINITIVE

8. In treating the pure verbal infinitive after the infinitive as substantive, the classification of Otto for the infinitive in Camões has been utilized. This is more for convenience than because the infinitive as substantive is more important or more truly representative than the types to be treated in the sections following. In fact, it is true that as a pure substantive the infinitive does not have the more or less equally apportioned nature of noun and verb that is to be recognized in the majority of its uses. But there is no distinct line between the verb and noun uses of the infinitive, since even in the types called verbal the substantival sense can be felt, and vice versa. This is true of the pure infinitive as object, where it does not require much effort to sense a certain noun value in the verb form. For instance, *cobdição dinheiro* and *cobdição ganhar* show the similarity and the difference between the simple noun and the infinitive. The introduction of a preposition destroys the perfect objective value of the infinitive, and permits the substantival side of its nature to be considerably less evident. *Comienço trabaiar* and *comienço a trabaiar* involve two quite different phases of the infinitive construction, the place value of the *a* (and in the same way the *relative* value of *de*) preventing the infinitive from really being the object of the active verb, even though currently such constructions are considered objective. Really they are substitutes for the object construction rather than that construction itself. The types of verbal pure infinitive so-called are those most fitting the substantive. This is evident from its use as subject of a verb, as predicate, and as object with numerous classes of verbs such as those of *wishing*, *ordering*, etc. It departs considerably from possible substantive value when it indicates *purpose*.

with the verbs of motion (*venir ver, yr malar*, etc.). Its use with the relative and interrogative particles (*no sabe qué se far*, Cic 370) is also considerably outside the realm of substantive uses. But at least two-thirds of the types without preposition show much resemblance to noun uses, while with the preposition the resemblance diminishes visibly. Of course numerous distinctly prepositional senses (such as *cause, means, etc.*) are completely lacking to the pure infinitive. The only common prepositional sense found in the pure infinitive is that of *purpose* (and *goal*, mentioned above for the verbs of motion). This sense is not the same, however, in the pure infinitive and in the infinitive with the prepositions *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para*. Differences of degree and definiteness exist here that will be considered under the individual prepositions. It is enough to point out here that there is a difference, and that the pure and prepositional infinitives in such instances as *va besarla* and *va para besarla* are not really equivalent.

#### THE PURE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT

9. There is no dependable means of distinguishing the subject-infinitive from the substantive-infinitive, as in the nature of the two constructions there cannot be. It seems that perhaps the subject-infinitive might well be considered a special type of the substantive-infinitive, since in order to fulfil the function of subject the substantive element must be particularly strong in the infinitive. Yet the usual modification of the ordinary substantive-infinitive is lacking in the infinitive as subject in the cases following, the articles or adjectives being absent, and an object being present more frequently than not. As Otto says,<sup>1</sup> this construction was common in Latin (*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*). In Romance this type was extended, and numerous instances occur of infinitives as subject with *de*, at least one with *a*, and various dependent uses of the subject under the pure infinitive (impersonal verb etc.). As stated above for the object-infinitive, so here it

<sup>1</sup> *Rom. Forsch.* VI, p. 307. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

equally true that the pure infinitive is the logical subject use, and that the preposition disturbs the perfect harmony of the construction. *De* is more harmless here than any other preposition because of its tendency to become almost colorless in meaning, while the others retain under any conditions a large part of their original import. Examples of pure infinitive-subject are:

tablados feryr non es barragania *Aliz* 68  
 a los unos castiga, a los otros falaga,  
 . . . que dar que prometer a todos apaga *Aliz* 73  
 cuydar non es saber *Aliz* 1728  
 escriujr auentura seria grant folia *SDom* 751  
 en qual ganancia torna aDios serujcio far *SDom* 756  
 Iudgar ageno clerigo por ley es vedado *Mil* 905  
 fazer esto era el mayor et ell meior omenage *Cron* 670b21  
 Escribir en tiniebra es un mester pesado *SOria* 10  
 Contar las sus bondades serie grant regunçerio *Mil* 709  
 Offreçer pan e uino en el sancto altar  
 offrenda es autentica *Sac* 65

#### AS SUBJECT WITH SER AND ADJECTIVE OR ADVERB

10. In this category the infinitive, which is really the subject of the form of *ser* employed, is subordinated to *ser* and its adjective or adverb, and in position as well as sense follows these. The two types found are *bien es yr* and *es bien yr*, in both of which the infinitive stands last.

Serie mal condempnarlo *Mil* 143  
 bien es ca no es mal saber porque es esto respuesta natural  
*Sac* 284  
 mejor te es a ti los dineros tomar *Aliz* 1244  
 en paz bien era tan grant tierra ganar *Aliz* 1253  
 es bien atales omnes solitarios beuir *Aliz* 1602  
 touo que era meior pedirles poco e yr todauia creçiendo que  
 non pedilles mucho e auer depues a menguar *Cron* 35a27  
 lo meior . . . serie despenderlos en seruicio de Dios *Cron*  
 369b26  
 meior era prouar . . . la uoluntad del çielo *Cron* 687b12



AS SUBJECT WITH *SER* AND A SUBSTANTIVE

11. Instead of *ser* and an adjective or adverb, *ser* with a substantive is quite common having an infinitive subject. The two types found are *es mala cosa lidiar* and *mala cosa es lidiar*, in which the sense of the infinitive is subordinated to that of the impersonal expression employed. Even so, there is more of a theoretical than real difference between these types and that of the pure infinitive subject in normal position: *lidiar es mala cosa*. The *de*-infinitive can appear for the pure construction in all these instances: *bien es de yr*, *mala cosa es de furtar*, etc.

Mala cueta es, señores, aver mingua de pan  
fijos e mugieres veer los murir de fanbre *Cid* 1178  
serie grant exaramiello hablar de su bondat *Aliz* 1541  
Non es nuestra costumbre thesoros condesar *Alex* 1769  
natura es del mundo deçender e sobir *Aliz* 2192  
El tesoro de la glesia non serie derechura  
Darlo en malos usos en mala mercadura *SLaur* 37  
Una serie grant cosa dexas tan grant conviento *SMil* 373  
grant peligro era cutiano comulgar *Sac* 286  
serie luenga sogá dezir las sus bondades *SDom* 93  
es tu privilegio valer al peccador *Mil* 866

Other examples of this construction occur in *SDom* 431; *Aliz* 119, 1043; *Cron* 117b27, 143a7, 143b30, 189b26, 687a41, 687a44.

The substantive has a preposition in the following instances:

como es de costumbre offereçer la mesnada *Sac* 67  
Serate, sancto padre, por grant yerro tenido  
Tu entrar en tal çena, yo fincar desffamnido *SLaur* 67

The subject-infinitive itself has a subject:

. . . non serie buen derecho  
A vassallo ageno io buscar tal provecho *Mil* 739  
grieue cosa es dexas el omne lo que mucho a tomado en costumbre *Cron* 73a13  
Serie grant daño tantas gentes morir *Aliz* 2169

*Por* and *pora* with noun may take the place of the indirect object in constructions like *esme cosa passada Refrescar las mis penas*, Duelo 13:

- (*por*) seria fiera onta e grant mal paresçer  
 por el Rey Alixandre a omne obedecer *Alix* 26  
 (*pora*) Non es honrra nin presçio pora omne honrrado  
 meterse a aventura en lugar desaguisado *Alix* 2257

#### AS SUBJECT WITH IMPERSONAL VERBS

12. Meyer-Lübke gives a concise account of the impersonal verbs with infinitive as subject, in which he says:<sup>1</sup>

Dans les cas où l'infinitif équivaut à un pur substantif, son emploi comme sujet ne réclame aucun examen spécial. Cependant, lorsqu'il est uni à des verbes ou des locutions unipersonnels, bien qu'il remplisse la fonction d'auteur de l'action, il apparaît encore souvent avec une valeur presque entièrement verbale; ce sont des cas auxquels il est nécessaire de s'arrêter un instant. La règle fondamentale est celle-ci: l'infinitif n'est employé que s'il n'a lui-même aucun sujet déterminé ou bien si ce sujet est exprimé avec le verbe personnel comme régime indirect.

It will be found that these conditions are fulfilled in the citations that follow: *nos conviene fablar, non lis cala fazerlo*, etc. The same verb may be treated both as an impersonal (or rather as an unipersonal verb, as Meyer-Lübke calls it), and as a personal verb. Such an instance is found in *conuenir*, where evidently the precedence of the object caused a shift in the verb form: *en otras lazarias quales conuenien sofrir a los que en tal fecho estan*, Cron 746a18. Sometimes, as with *pertenescer*, a slightly different turn is given to the sense by the use of a preposition, in which case the verb usually becomes personal (as *de* is the only preposition adapting itself readily to use with the infinitive as subject): *nos non pertenesce estar casados*, Cron 620b23, but *no pertenesçien ellas pora seer nuestras mugeres*, Cron 620b14, noted on the same page as the impersonal construction.

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 339.

The examples cited by Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> for the Spanish contain the impersonals *parece*, *acontece*, *es forzoso*, *es posible*. The two latter are interesting as members of a group that is as large as the individual scholar desires, since there is an almost unlimited number of adjectives that can be combined with the third person of *ser* to take either the infinitive or subjunctive, especially in the modern language, where the vocabulary and the variety of nuances of expression have been much enriched. Diez<sup>2</sup> gives a much larger list of impersonal verbs and locutions, though his work applies more to the modern period than to that of our texts: *basta*, *cale*, *conviene*, *cumple*, *importa*, *parece*, *toca*, *vale*, *no hay*, *á uno está*, etc. It is interesting to note that in the early texts there are more impersonal verbs and expressions taking *de* with the infinitive-subject than those taking the pure construction. As said before, though this delicately intrusive *de* (of relation) was not as logical as the pure infinitive, still it gradually came to be used with more and more verbs, the infinitive acting either as subject or as object, until it had surpassed its more logical rival. The following verbs appear with pure and *de*-infinitive subject: *abondar*, *caer*, *convenir*, *pertenescer*, *plazer*. A group which is very numerous under the *de*-infinitive and is not represented here at all, is the *venir* group: *Vinoli en coraçon de andar*, etc. Various individual verbs like *complir*, *parescer*, etc., are also confined to the *de* class, while others equally notable, such as *valer*, etc., are limited to the pure construction. There is doubtless a considerable amount of chance in this fact, both in the matter of the texts available for study, and in the absence of examples of phenomena that must have existed.<sup>3</sup>

#### **abondar.**

The *de*-infinitive also occurs with *abondar*.

non les abondo partir se ellos dell imperio obedecer *Cron* 168a20

no les abondo deffender su tierra *Cron* 168b5

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 339.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of impersonal constructions in French, see Kjellman, *La construction de l'infinifit dépendant d'une locution impersonnelle en français*, etc.

**caer.**

The *de*-infinitive is also found.

tu saues en que caye captiuos redemjr *SDom* 362

ca cumplir tales cosas en debdo li caya *SDom* 481

**caler.**

Non lis cala demanana façer otros labores *Duelo* 175

**convenir.**

This verb also takes *de* and *a* with the infinitive.

En el terçero signo nos conviene fablar *Sig* 8

otro conseio te conviene prender *Mil* 645

Convienenos un poco la materia cambiar *SDom* 186

El obispo que esso auie de ministrar

non conviene sin sangne quel rancon entrar *Sac* 91

**doler.**

nol dolie fer mision *Alix* 388

**enchir.**

non uos incal tomar ganancias *Cron* 438a41

**oluidarse** (see *oluidarse* with *de*, p. 117).

Non seli olujdaua orar por los passados *SDom* 79

**pertenescer.**

The infinitives with *de* and *a* are also noted with *pertenescer*.

nos non pertenesce estar casados con fijas de tal omne *Cron*  
620b23

**plazer.**

The *de*-infinitive is also found with *plazer*.

plaze me yr ala casa enna qual ella posa *SDom* 103

**semeiar (-jar).**

The *de*-infinitive is also found with *semeiar*.

Aun non me semeia con esto me alçar *SDom* 387

me semeia razon . . . Descubrir la razon *SMill* 365

Semejaua onta pora sy lo dexar *Alix* 523

mal nos semeja buscar cosas atales *Alix* 2250

**ser uebos.**

Nunqua lis era uebos buscar otra mengia *SMill* 339

**uagar (v-).**

non uagaua a los de dentro fatar se de los fuegos *Cron*  
288a22

. . . tanto que les non vage las espaldas tornar *Alix* 80

**valer (u-).**

*Valer* only takes the pure infinitive.

val aDios seruir *SDom* 560

Mas val con sendos oios salvar vuestros peccados,  
Que con los dos veervos en infierno damnados *SMill* 276

si as a enflaqueçer, mas te valdrie peresçer *Alix* 77

mas me valdrie seyer muerto e soterrado *Alix* 655

Mas may's les ualiera en su tierra seer *Alex* 1201

valiera seles mas en sus tiendas seyer *Alix* 1341

mas nos valdrie morir *Alix* 2613

mas ualdrie ficar *Cron* 15a15

mas ualdrie atender le todel poder de Roma en uno que no  
partidos *Cron* 19a6

mas ualdrie auenturarse e lidiar con el, que no pechar est auer  
*Cron* 25b44

mas ual morir que uer este astragamiento en nuestra tierra  
*Cron* 500a18

The almost universal use of *valer* in comparative sentences is to be seen in the above examples. Also the occasional use of the intrusive *non* after the comparative *que* is found, especially in the *Crónica* (*mas ualie pechar et dar de lo que ouiesse et saluar lo al, que non perder los cuerpos et quanto auien*, *Cron* 495b42).

## THE INFINITIVE AS A PREDICATE NOUN

13. With *ser*<sup>1</sup> the infinitive may stand as a predicate noun in relation to the subject. This subject may be a substantive, a pronoun, or another infinitive. No examples of the first type are noted in our texts, but the second and third are by no means rare. It will be seen that sometimes the pronoun sums up a whole clause preceding, and the syntactical relation would become quite different, though the sense would remain

<sup>1</sup> See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

the same, if the pronoun were omitted: *la onrra del silencio, esto es callar et non fablar*, Cron 680a44. The reason that these predicate uses can be included under the pure verbal infinitive is that more activity is postulated than in ordinary substantive-infinitive uses, and there are no ordinary accompaniments of the substantive such as the articles or adjectives.

The subject is a pronoun:

*esto es dotar elesia falcas darle arras como a esposa de Cristo*  
Cron 540b6

*morredes en Cristo, que es ueuir, ca non morir* Cron 662a36  
*la onrra del silencio, esto es callar et non fablar* Cron 680a44  
*aquello non era foyr, mas yr adelant* Cron 699a23

*aquello que todo fijo dalgo deue conplir, et esto es: fazer derecho, et perder miedo alli do lo deue omne perder* Cron 738b2

The subject is an infinitive:

*cuydar non es saber* Aliz 1728

*imperare es estar apareiado . . .* Cron 90b22

*affogar omne sus fijos es dalles de pequennos et assoora grandes sennorios* Cron 145b43

*profession fazer el frayre, es renunçiar el mundo* Cron 692a3  
*ca dezir de la lengua de manos non laurar, esso es flor sin frucho, prometer e non dar* Sac 181

Of course the infinitive treated as a real substantive occurs in the predicate noun position:

*seria fiera onta e grant mal paresçer*

*por el Rey Alixandre a omne obedecer* Aliz 26

## THE PURE INFINITIVE AS OBJECT

### THE MODAL AUXILIARIES

14. Under this group will be treated *auer*, *deuer*, *poder*, *querer*, *saber*, *soler*, all with pure infinitive. A few exceptions are noted to the pure construction and these will be commented on under the individual verbs. In general, however, it is evidently true that there is no reason for a preposition

with these verbs; on the contrary, the presence of a preposition detracts from that perfect unity between infinitive and finite verb that has caused this group to be called the modal auxiliaries, i.e., aids in inflection of the verb put in the infinitive form. The preposition *a* never lost some portion of its place value, and the preposition *de*, though it became exceedingly weak at times, was never quite negligible in the sense of a phrase. The pure infinitive alone could accurately serve as object, and in these instances where the unity was so close that in one case at least the two parts were thought of and written as one (*auer* with infinitive giving the future: e.g., *dar e*), the use of a preposition with the infinitive was more antagonistic to the construction involved than in any ordinary object relation, such as *començar* with its infinitive. The auxiliaries, through continued and frequent use, came to express shades of thought not brought out in the ordinary conjugation of the verb. Thus *dever* in some cases might weaken to an approximation of the future use; *querer* did not always express a wish as such, but developed a series of delicate related senses; *saber* and *poder* had points of contact in use, while *soler* and the imperfect indicative showed different degrees of definiteness of concept that might merge into each other. It was natural that the emphasis should fall more and more on the infinitive rather than on the finite verb, since the infinitive expressed the specific activity needed in the individual sentence, while the finite verb expressed only a general activity common to all.<sup>1</sup> It was only a matter of time until the auxiliaries came to lose nearly all their power of acting alone, and had to have another verb to form a predicate for them. One of the proofs of this close relation of finite verb and infinitive object is found in the existence of such constructions as *volo habere cantatum* standing for *habeo volutum cantare*, where the auxiliary is so weak that the sign of the perfect has gone over to the infinitive. Examples of this (*lo querria auer fecho*) will be cited under the various verbs concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Lachmund, *Inf. im Altfranz.*, p. 10.



The modal auxiliaries, as might be guessed from the above, offer the most abundant examples of the verbs taking the infinitive object. By far the most common of all is of course *auer* with infinitive in the regular future sense. *Querer* and *poder* come next in the favor of our authors. The fact that each of these appears several hundred times in the *Alixandre* and proportionately in other texts, is interesting only as showing the almost continual use of these aids by good authors, and the fact that they must have become very weak indeed to be tolerated so often. No verb retaining its full sense could be used so many times in a poem without destroying its beauty. *Deuer* and *saber* are only about one-half as frequent as *querer* and *poder*, while *soler*, with 70 occurrences, seems almost rare by comparison.

The lists of aids in inflection given by Diez, Meyer-Lübke, and Menéndez Pidal differ each from the other. Diez includes *querer*, *deber*, *poder*, *saber*, *osar*, *soler*, of which I omit *osar* in my classification; Meyer-Lübke gives *querer*, *poder*, *saber*, *deber*, *soler*, *dejar*, *hacer*, thus retaining the two causative verbs *dejar* and *hacer*; Menéndez Pidal chooses even a more generous list, *querer*, *gradar*, *dever*, *poder*, *saber*, *osar*, *treverse*, *soler*. This shows that any grouping is necessarily flexible, and chosen for convenience as much as accuracy. Individual verbs appear to one scholar as aids in inflection that to another are no more such aids than any verb in close relation with its infinitive object. My own list includes rather a minimum than a maximum of such possible verbs.

#### *auer*.

The union of the infinitive with the present and imperfect indicative of *auer* formed the customary future and conditional of Old Spanish in the same way as in other parts of the Romance field (in Italy the Classical perfect *habui* was used instead of the imperfect *habebam*). Little can be added to the knowledge of this phenomenon since it is one part of the syntax of the



Romance tongues that received prompt and thorough attention at the hands of various students.<sup>1</sup>

Hanssen states<sup>2</sup> that there were three possible ways of joining the infinitive with the form of *habere* (*auer*): *dar e yo*, *yo dar e*, and *yo e dar*. Old Spanish, Old Provençal, and Portuguese show a more primitive condition of these component parts than do other Romance tongues. From very early times the merging of the infinitive and the form of *habere* occurred in Italy and North France, but in Spain, etc., this unity was evidently not felt, as the two parts are found separated by a pronoun object (*ver lo he*). This will be discussed a little later. The third form of the combination of these elements (*yo e dar*), mentioned by Hanssen above, he finds still existing in Galicia and Portugal. In Old Spanish, however, although this form was used, it had a little more than ordinary future sense. There had been present in Vulgar Latin the two senses of *possibility* and *necessity* in the infinitive with *habere*, and in the Romance future the element of *necessity* was of course non-existent, the element of *possibility* having developed here. The sense of *necessity* was kept in the same construction, but generally when a preposition was used with the infinitive (*Maquer les pesa*, *ovieron se a dar e a arrancar*, Cid 1145). Later *auer de* supplanted *auer a* in this use, though at the period covered by this study *auer a* was considerably the more frequent. The preposition was not always employed when the sense of *necessity* was desired, however, and in these texts it is by no means rare to find form three (*yo e dar*) in the periphrastic sense. No other order is found than this, and doubtless the sense of *necessity* predominates when this order is used, though different degrees are to be felt in the examples, varying from little more than simple *futurity* to actual *necessity*. All examples of *auer* preceding

<sup>1</sup> Information concerning the development of the Romance future can be found in Thielmann, *Arch.* II, 48; Grandgent, 56; Cornu in *Fil. e Lin.* Firenze, 1886, p. 217; Bello, 689; Cejador I, 249; Tobler, II, 150; Hanssen, § 575; Diez, *Gram.* II, p. 108, and III, p. 257; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, § 112, and III, § 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram. Hist. Esp.*, § 575.

the infinitive are given below. Concerning the possibility of absorption of the preposition *a* by *a* preceding or following (*ouieron aplegar*, Alix 1276), see *auer a*, § 45. In such instances as *Ovoise de las cuevas . . . arrancar*, SMill 46, and *ovo assacar*, Cron 112b34, *a* may be separable from the simple verb. If not, consciousness of the incorporation of *a* in the infinitive may well have militated against its repetition immediately before that form.

los que han lidiar *Cid* 3523  
 Ante que lo ouiasse Diomedes colpar *Alix* 528  
 ouieron syn grado las espaldas tornar *Alix* 537  
 Ouierote toda via mostrar vna cordura *Alix* 1138  
 ovo toda la obra por ende yr a mal *Alix* 1489  
 Los que . . . han alimosna pedir *Alix* 1596  
 Ouierante tus vasallos matar a trayçion *Alix* 1668  
 Aurias a mi sefiero por señor catar *Alix* 1759  
 Avremos . . . la cosa destajar *Alix* 2045  
 En la primera muepta ouieron se aguardar *Alix* 2162  
 tanto ouieron atender e buscar *Alix* 2224  
 ouo el sancto Padre sentir unas atales *SDom* 490  
 Si oviesse mas un poco y estar *SOria* 157  
 Porque en tal periglo nos aves a uviar,  
 Por el tu guyonage avemos arrivar,  
 Et de aquellas ondas tan fuertes escapar *Loor* 197  
 Mucho de mayor preçio a seer el tu manto *SLaur* 70  
 Commo qui en mal anda, en mal a caer,  
 Ovieronlo con furto est ladron a prender *Mil* 146  
 Ovo del pleito todo venir deconnoçido *Mil* 696  
 quando Coymbria auie seer presa *Cron* 487b47  
 o auie seer *Cron* 625b27

Menéndez Pidal remarks in this connection that "*auer expresa la necesidad, rigiendo al infinitivo ora con de, ora con á. La preposición falta rara vez, acaso sólo en: los que han lidiar, Cid 3523. El pretérito, rigiendo á un infinitivo con de ó á, expresa no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración.*"<sup>1</sup> Evi-

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 161.

dently, then, there is a difference between the preterit of this construction and the other tenses. This is found to be prevailingly true, inasmuch as in the above examples instances of the preterit show little *necessity*, often a mere *subsequent* event, as noted by Menéndez Pidal. But a purely formal statement cutting off the preterit would be misleading, because the individual examples in other tenses show a varying degree of *necessity*, and sometimes quite as much the absence of that element as in the preterit. *SLaur* 70: *Mucho de mayor precio a seer el tu manto* shows a minimum of *necessity*, and a maximum of *futurity*. The same might be said of *Cron* 487b47: *quando Coymbria auie seer presa*, and of *Commo* *qui en mal anda, en mal a caer*, *Mil* 146, where the element of *futurity* is strong. It is difficult to prove much concerning the pure infinitive in these tenses because of the small number of examples, the prepositional construction so largely predominating.

When Menéndez Pidal states that there is no *necessity* in the preterit, but merely a *subsequent* fact, he is stating the principle for the prepositional infinitive with *auer*. However, it is shown under *auer a* that this is not true for the prepositional infinitive, instances being found showing *necessity* as clearly as in any other tense. If the principle were true for the infinitive with prepositions, it would probably hold for the pure infinitive in this construction, since one of the most important facts noted in this study of the *auer* construction is that no dividing line can be drawn between the cases with preposition and those without. For instance, *ovo todos los pleitos la dueña a saber*, *Alix* 382, and *Ovo del pleito todo venir deconnoçido*, *Mil* 696, show decided similarity in the connotation of the infinitive constructions. There is the same sense of *subsequence* in the locution in both cases. This argument might be developed much further, but without profit. The main difference between the pure and the prepositional infinitive at this time is that the pure form (the original construction) is quite rare except in the regular future sense, while the prepositional infinitive, especially that with *a*, is extremely common. As

to the element of *necessity*, it can be felt in various instances in the preterit, whether there is preposition or not. Often it can be felt but not proved. And it is not to be expected that it could very often be definitely proved considering the delicacy of the sentiment involved, and its easy merging into the sense called above *subsequent*. Most instances can be construed with or without *necessity* in the preterit, but some naturally imply it, e.g., *ouieron syn grado las espaldas tornar*, Alix 537, where there can be no doubt as to the *necessity*. Also *tanto ouieron atender e buscar*, Alix 2224, and *Ovose de las cuevas por esso arrancar*, SMill 46, most fittingly take a sense of *necessity* as against simple *subsequence*. A few cases of the prepositional use having *necessity* are interesting for comparison with those above: *maguer les pesa, ovieronse a dar e a arrancar*, Cid 1145; *ovieronle syn grado el canpo a dexar*, Alix 654; *ouieron a tollerse del portillo syn grado*, Alix 214. Without *necessity*, but with preposition, are noted among numerous others: *ouolo a vencer*, Alix 166; *ouo el arbol a fallar*, Alix 311; *ouieron a veyer*, Alix 389.

Concerning the first method of combining the infinitive with the auxiliary, as mentioned by Hanssen (*dar e yo*), in the regular future sense, the most important fact is that the combining parts could be separated by one or more pronoun objects (*ver lo he, dar gelo he*, etc.). The examples of this so-called *split future* are quite numerous in Old Spanish, offering abundant material for study of the phenomenon. The facts are, however, very simple. Such separation of the auxiliary and the infinitive was customary in our texts when a pronoun object was present. It was not obligatory, however, as evidenced by Cid 1310: *Dexarévos las posadas*, and Soria 136: *veráste*. The separation caused no change in the sense involved, as shown by the fact that the future, united and split, could present its forms side by side in equivalent function and sense: *non nos daran dent (nada)*; *la paria . . . tornar nos la ha doblada*, Cid 586. Also Cid 1438: *dexaremos Burgos, ir lo hemos buscar* and *hir los hemos fferir*, *non passará por al*, Cid 1690. Examples of the *split future* in our texts are:

- el rey querer me ha por amigo *Cid* 76  
 doblar vos he la soldada *Cid* 80  
 fer lo he amidos *Cid* 84  
 enpeñar gelo he *Cid* 92  
 dexar las ha en vuestra mano *Cid* 117  
 pedir vos a poco por dexar so aver en salvo *Cid* 133  
 dar gelos hemos de grado *Cid* 136  
 mereçer no' lo hedes *Cid* 197  
 atorgar nos hedes esto *Cid* 198  
 castigar los he commo abrán a far *Cid* 229  
 seervos han doblados *Cid* 251  
 partir nos hemos *Cid* 272  
 poder nos han alcançar *Cid* 390  
 tornar nos la ha doblada *Cid* 586  
 exir nos ha el pan *Cid* 667  
 tener la edes sin arth *Cid* 690  
 dezir vos he la verdad *Cid* 947  
 ir gelo he yo demandar *Cid* 966  
 dar nos ha grant batalla *Cid* 987  
 quitarvos he los cuerpos e darvos e de mano *Cid* 1035b  
 dar vos he de mano *Cid* 1040  
 ir nos hemos pagando *Cid* 1046  
 auerlohan por ello muchos a conoçer *Alix* 3  
 auer me ha como fijo la mano a besar *Alix* 25  
 echarte ha en lugar onde, fijo, dios te defienda *Alix* 54  
 Cambiar se a la uentura *Alex* 74  
 fallarte as bien en ello *Alix* 353  
 auerte ha a querer *Alix* 377  
 ferte ha dios caridat *Alix* 379  
 avertete ha a nozir *Alix* 781  
 dexaruos han el canpo *Alix* 932  
 auer les han despecho *Alix* 1431  
 Descubriruos he el renglon *Alex* 1794  
 yr lo as ensayando *Alix* 2279  
 tollernos ha las almas *Alix* 2420  
 fer lo ha volenter *Alix* 2427  
 yr se nos ha aguisando . . . la yantar *Alix* 2512  
 fer uos he syn los oios *SDom* 143  
 enujar uos lo emos *SDom* 365  
 saber uos an meior *SDom* 385

*nos a temer*, we have a slightly emphatic equivalent of *deuemos temer*. There seems to be no trace of *deuer de* in the early texts, although by the time of Cervantes it was not uncommon. Grammarians say that *deuer* with pure infinitive denotes duty and necessity, while with *de* it denotes rather probability.

The use of the tenses of *deuer* in Old Spanish is found to be far from fixed. The present has the variety of meanings common in French, from *duty* and *necessity* in such cases as *devemos venger*, Cid 995, to the weakened *necessity* approaching *futurity* of *tu deues esta cosa iuzgar*, SDom 425, and the *futurity* or *probability* in *deues . . . tu auer pagamiento* Alix 1243. This tense is the one most commonly used, and frequently makes the action of the verb more realistic in places where other tenses, such as the imperfect or conditional, would be more logical.

Examples of the present tense of *deuer* with dependent infinitive will be found in the *Cid* 315, 1107, 1457, 3363; *Alix* 35, 38, 43, 65, 77, 79, 120, 222, 239, 277, 327, 352, 357, 358, 359, 454, 477, 658, 749, 770, 772, 776, 827, 931, 1140, 1206, 1210, 1243, 1254, 1313, 1314, 1323, 1348, 1422, 1425, 1641, 1652, 1677, 1689, 1792, 1829, 1865, 2232, 2254, 2270, 2308, 2347, 2365, 2369, 2372, 2375, 2401, 2416, 2421, 2487, 2562, 2563, 2634, 2635, 2637; *SOria* 89, 153; *Mil* 74, 121, 141, 158, 201, 262, 280, 351, 430, 451, 541, 542, 543, 559, 562, 786, 791, 845, 859, 868; *Sac* 37, 46, 47, 48, 66, 70, 99, 118, 119, 170, 172, 174, 175, 181, 190, 226, 250, 251, 260, 264, 284, 290, 291; *SDom* 102, 139, 145, 252, 287, 311, 312, 313, 315, 335, 425, 462, 613, 644, 658, 719, 756, 777; *Loor* 17, 44, 69, 104, 112, 119, 135, 155, 182, etc.

The imperfect denotes weakened *necessity* in cases like *deuién pereçer*, Sac 242. This type is common to all the texts with the exception of the *Cid*. This poem shows the use of *deuer* sparingly in all meanings, yielding only seven passages with *deuer* in the whole 3700 lines, a somewhat remarkable fact, considering its frequent repetition of many infinitive constructions.

Examples of the imperfect of *deuer* denoting weakened *necessity*:

asy deuien moryr *Alix* 171  
 non los deuie guarýr *Alix* 171  
 deuie auer tal cabo *Alix* 216  
 Mas el engannador lo debie padeçer *Mil* 207  
 Cada uno en su trono en que debia juzgar *SOria* 86  
 nol deuja ualer *SDom* 740

The imperfect is also found in places where the conditional would be more logical. In all the texts except the *Alixandre* the conditional is decidedly rare. Examples of the imperfect for the conditional:

debiamos todos aver ende pavura *Sig* 67  
 non fablas como deujas hablar *SDom* 311  
 deuia seer scripto *SDom* 441  
 deuja seer metida en arca mas preçiosa *SDom* 673  
 Non las deviemos tomar por varraganas *Cid* 2759  
 non gelas devién querer sus fijas por varraganas *Cid* 3276  
 deviemos casar con fijas de reyes o de enperadores *Cid* 3297  
 deuie seer mejor *Alix* 268

Other examples of the imperfect of *deuer*: *Alix* 171, 208, 223, 277, 581, 876, 1044, 1097, 1115, 1350, 1417, 1602, 1652, 1707, 1721, 1761, 1790, 1840, 2188, 2194, 2239, 2299, 2564, 2578, 2619, 2631; *Duelo* 125, 128, 146; *Loor* 115, 173, 174; *SOria* 24, 86; *Mil* 207, 398, 511, 528, 547, 548, 549, 786, 901; *SLaur* 38, 74; *SMill* 25, 40, 267, 396, 468, 469.

Berceo only uses the conditional (excluding the *Alixandre*) in the following passages, and it is to be noted that three cases occur in practically one passage, i.e., the use of the conditional in the first passage probably caused the use of the next two.

Non me devries agora, padre, deseparar *SLaur* 65  
 devriesme perdonar *SLaur* 66  
 Non devries al tu siervo tal ira condesar *SLaur* 66  
 Debrie andar devoto e andaba lozano *Mil* 162  
 debriemos escribilla *Mil* 215  
 Debriame lo mismo con mis manos matar *Mil* 760

The conditional appears more frequently in the *Alixandre* than in the other poetical works:



deurie auer toda mala ventura *Alix* 371

deurien vençer vn mundo sola ment a dientes *Alix* 806

Nunca en esti mundo deurie omne fiar *Alix* 980

Also *Alix* 982, 1184, 1210, 1241, 1242, 1482, 1597, 1628, 1675, 1784, 1788, 1809, 1836, 1908, 2396, 2508, 2574.

The conditional is used with the passive infinitive in:

deurie seyer contado *Alix* 1411

deurie jazer ençerrado *Alix* 2090

Debria ser servido con grant devoçion *Loor* 74

The preterit occurs once in *Loor* 98:

por mi feçiste tanto que mas fer non debiste

### poder.

Little comment need be made on this most popular of verbs, as the syntax is simple and regular. Occurrences will be noted under the tenses found in the texts. The *Cid*, *Santo Domingo*, and the *Sacrificio* are represented in the list as well as the *Alixandre* as far as stanza 1000. The references are given because of any possible interest attaching to them in connection with other subjects, though they have no importance in the present study.

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 91, 116, 423, 516, 542, 546, 555, 633, 713, 830, 948, 984, 1030, 1032, 1177, 1180, 1304, 1388, 1636, 1782, 2007, 2058, 2617, 2747, 2784, 2913, 3126, 3172, 3183, 3254, 3257, 3307, 3358, 3468, 3529; *SDom* 47, 132, 150, 153, 154, 155, 171, 176, 202, 204, 287, 288, 337, 349, 362, 365, 384, 458, 570, 599, 658, 696, 712, 759; *Sac* 95, 118, 120, 263, 286; *Alix* 35, 43, 53, 63, 71, 133, 144, 193, 194, 219, 233, 234, 327, 330, 351, 358, 363, 374, 487, 506, 538, 623, 648, 658, 680, 741, 749, 753, 758, 982.

(impf. ind.) *Cid* 171, 1281; *SDom* 19, 46, 173, 185, 292, 294, 357, 410, 426, 506, 538, 539, 550, 568, 578, 591, 597, 606, 607, 676, 688, 726, 755; *Sac* 88, 121, 289; *Alix* 29, 174, 232, 286, 303, 321, 328, 340, 403, 404, 409, 411, 446, 474, 507, 521, 523,



532, 535, 537, 544, 561, 565, 566, 581, 603, 627, 673, 703, 705, 719, 731, 814, 829, 837, 942.

(pret.) *Cid* 704, 946, 1151, 1427, 1777, 3681; *SDom* 244, 250, 378, 439, 485, 516, 556, 589, 609, 640, 641; *Sac* 121, 124; *Alix* 16, 20, 150, 151, 154, 166, 167, 210, 219, 246, 311, 390, 403, 419, 446, 492, 507, 604, 606, 618, 624, 654, 704, 811, 816, 912, 981, 997, 1000.

(fut.) *Cid* 424, 619, 1468, 1524, 1640, 1869, 2360, 2542, 2553, 2867; *SDom* 33, 282; *Sac* 126, 233; *Alix* 35, 296, 336, 369, 374, 378, 874, 931.

(condtl.) *Cid* 310, 531, 699, 835, 1214, 1218, 1311, 1313; *SDom* 163, 170, 176, 186, 331, 341, 363, 384, 390, 406, 420, 506, 507, 537, 574, 756; *Sac* 65, 121, 170, 235, 260, 271, 287; *Alix* 1, 32, 33, 44, 104, 113, 393, 399, 409, 524, 557, 670, 708, 793, 815, 819, 824, 853, 857, 880, 922, 924, 925.

(pres. subj.) *Cid* 302, 2868; *SDom* 99, 180, 323, 576, 624, 763, 766; *Sac* 22, 70, 81, 248; *Alix* 24, 74, 120, 121, 154, 669, 966, 980.

(impf. subj.) *Cid* 309, 1250, 1253, 2377, 2662, 3540; *SDom* 53, 122, 342, 357, 363, 420, 431, 442, 485, 516, 765; *Sac* 167; *Alix* 38, 47, 94, 99, 110, 156, 165, 169, 246, 323, 395, 396, 472, 486, 529, 590, 605, 606, 704, 720, 724, 734, 815, 816, 848, 875, 881, 882, 982, 999.

(impf. subj. *pudiera* type) *SDom* 127; *Alix* 581, 826.

(fut. subj.) *Cid* 1466; *SDom* 365, 664; *Alix* 61, 76, 793.

(pres. partic.) *Cid* 2967.

### querer.

When *quaerere* supplanted *volere* in the Spanish peninsula, it increased the variety of its uses and senses. Concerning *querer* in the *Cid*, Menéndez Pidal remarks:

*querer* expresa naturalmente el deseo de hacer algo: *exir quierien a batalla* 662, 1776, 3098, y negativo 538. De aquí pasó á indicar el comienzo de una acción, el sentido inceptivo: 'estar á punto de': *la noch querie entrar* 311, 231, 235, 367, 665, 696, 1143. La perífrasis sirve sólo para hacer más vehemente un ruego: *no lo quiera olvidar* 1444, y llega á ser casi perífrasis inútil.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160.

This statement of the uses of *querer* with infinitive is found in general to be accurate, its only fault being that it does not take enough account of the delicate shades of sense lying between the points brought out so clearly. It is as impossible to tabulate the individual instances of *querer* and put them all in their respective classes as it is those of *auer a*, etc. It is easy to see the starting point of change in *querer* as well as in *auer a*, but after this point it is only the more glaring examples that let themselves be accurately judged. That *querer* did not express wish or desire on all occasions would be inferred from its very frequency in the texts considered. In the first 1550 stanzas of the *Alixandre* there are 300 instances of it, with approximately this proportion in other documents. The *inceptive* sense mentioned by Menéndez Pidal above (*to be on the point of, to be nearly, etc.*) is noted quite frequently. Probably numerous other instances than those cited by Menéndez Pidal or these following could be found in our texts, the only difficulty being to prove the presence of the *inceptive* sense rather than that of *wishing*. Theoretically, *desire* and *inception* may equally apply to all animate subjects. That is, in such instances as the first one cited by Menéndez Pidal (*exir querien a batalla*, *Cid* 662) and most others with personal subject, there is only the inaccurate evidence of the context to show whether *querer* indicates a *wish* or an *inception*. With impersonal or inanimate subject, the probabilities are clearly in favor of the *inceptive* sense. This is shown very well by these examples:

Quando de la grant nave quisse fuera salir,  
 Ca pareçe por oïo que se querie somir *Mil* 607  
 Ia querie ser ora de maytines tañer,  
 la estrella del çielo queria paresçer *Alix* 1286  
 querie vn dia malo e negro amanasçer *Alix* 1286  
 el sol querie apuntar *Cid* 682  
 quiérel crebar el coraçón *Cid* 1660  
 tembrar querie la tierra *Cid* 3619  
 non a queria estar *SDom* 454

Other instances of the *inceptive* sense in *querer* follow

con la grant calentura del fuego que les ardie açerca, quieren  
se perder de sed *Cron* 136a32

ya tenblaua la tapia, queria se acostar *Aliz* 213

querie de calentura moryr toda la gent *Aliz* 864

sintiosse tan flaco que entendio bien que querie morir *Cron*  
137b38

El bueno de Minaya penssar quiere de caualgar *Cid* 1430p<sup>1</sup>  
el março quiere entrar *Cid* 1619

In *Hya quieren caualgar*, *Cid* 2591p<sup>1</sup>, and in *SDom* 1.2, *Quiero fer una prosa*, there is probably more of *inception* than of *wish*, but the construction is indefinite in any event.

Menéndez Pidal also says that *querer* "sirve sólo para hacer más vehemente un ruego." Probably, also, in being less direct it was considered more polite, removing the objectionable force of the regular imperative form. It was so used in the *Santo Domingo* in addressing the king:

Rey, yo bien te conseio commo a tal sennor,  
Non quieras toller nada al sancto confessor *SDom* 154

A parallel construction is seen in the French *veuillez* with dependent infinitive. Here the construction has become fixed as a form of polite address, while its use in Old Spanish was quite exceptional. When employed, it evidently conveyed more meaning than would appear in the French construction.

Compare also:

que non me quieras tan mucho segudar *SDom* 176  
Date al guarir luego, non te quieras tardar *SDom* 724

Aside from this use the present subjunctive of *querer* is itself not very commonly employed. The future subjunctive is more in evidence than the present, and lends itself a little more easily to the sense that the present might have. I only note three examples of the present subjunctive of *querer* with infinitive object in the *Cid* while the future subjunctive is found in at least seven passages, about the same proportion holding in the other texts:

<sup>1</sup> Edición paleográfica.

res. subj.)

Antes . . . que el sol quiera rayar *Cid* 231

que nos queramos ir de noch no nos lo consintrán *Cid* 668

no lo quiera olvidar *Cid* 1444

t. subj.)

Si el rey me lo quisiere tomar *Cid* 230

El qui quisiere comer *Cid* 421

los que lo quisieren far *Cid* 891

si en estas tierras quisiéremos durar *Cid* 1120

Los que quisieren ir servir al Campeador *Cid* 1369

quien vos lo toller quisiere *Cid* 3520

qui tuerto quisiere fazer *Cid* 3601

When Menéndez Pidal says that "*querer* llega á ser casi *perſis inútil*," it is easy to know what he means, but hard to tify so broad a statement, especially when he cites no exam-s from the *Cid*. He remarks almost the same thing of *fazer*, *ndar*, *yr*, *tornar a* and *de*, when these verbs have dependent nitive object. That is, all these locutions are said to become weak as to give little or no meaning to a phrase other than uld be given by the properly inflected form of the infinitive nged into a finite verb. There is much truth in this with-; doubt, since each of these locutions became a formula that nished in strength almost in proportion to its frequency of . But there always seems to be some remnant of the original se left even when these locutions are at their weakest. In : case of *querer* it is easier to show such weakening than *fazer*, etc., but even here, although the idea of *wishing* has owed itself to be considerably changed and weakened, it not be thought a negligible factor in the sentence. One l weakening of *querer* is mentioned by Meyer-Lübke,<sup>1</sup> who tes that it becomes sometimes a practical future. *Querer* l infinitive may be considered quite as logical a formation the future idea as that which prevailed largely in the Ro- nce territory, *auer* and infinitive. The difficulty here as where in dealing with fine shades of sense is to find examples

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 322.

that conclusively show the phenomena that are known to exist. Thus it is impossible to accurately gauge the proportion of real *desire* and *futurity* that was intended in single instances of *querer*. It is possible, however, to find examples that permit more of *futurity* than of *desire* to be read into them. Thus in the *Cid* 2571. *hvo quiéroles dar azucar tres mill marcos de valor*, *futurity* is more natural than *desire*, as is evidenced by the use of the regular future in other parts of the sentence, e.g. *darvos he dos espodas*, *Cid* 2575. Though either sense is possible in the following cases, *futurity* is more evident than *desire*:

enbiar la quiero a Alfonso el Castellano *Cid* 1790  
 cometer quiero un ruego a mio Çid *Cid* 2073  
 no lo quiero fallir por nada de quanto ay parado *Cid* 2224  
 Hvo con los mios ferir los quiero delant *Cid* 2358  
 dirgelas queremos delant estando vos *Cid* 3174

Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> states that *habeo volutum cantare* was replaced by *velo habere cantatum* (*querer* standing for *volere* in Spanish). In such cases the auxiliary has lost its original strength, and the infinitive, which to the speaker seems more important in the immediate phrase, has taken on the sign of the perfect. The construction is, however, rare in the texts considered. Only passages containing the conditional instead of the simple perfect are noted. A conspicuous example occurs in *Alir* 1156:

Quiero Alexandre desir ligar corda  
 ra lo querra aver de su grado regida  
 ra querra su afrenta aver y atregida  
 e aver de su grado de ayora segun devida

No lo querra por nada aver su merced *SMZ* 270  
 no lo querra aver de lo por querra ha en Carria *Cid* 3570  
 no querra por grado non aver y merced *SDom* 545

Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> also suggests that in *SMZ* 105, *querer* takes an infinitive which governed by *de*, and that therefore *querer* could be constructed with *de* in Old Spanish in much the same way as *dever* is.

<sup>1</sup> *Don.* III § 225.

Sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria,  
De vevir solitario commo vevir solia

This is hardly a normal example of *querer de*, however, since the infinitive is really in apposition with *lo*, and the infinitive in such apposition was used with or without *de*. This phenomenon is treated under the *Infinitive in Apposition* in § 79 of this study. One valid example of *querer de* does occur in *Cron* 450b37: *adolesçiose Dios de la yent, et quiso por su merçed de mostrar esta grand coyta por quien era.*

Instances of *querer* and infinitive occur as follows:

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 85, 194, 235, 252, 314, 367, 529, 533, 534, 813, 816, 890, 899, 1020, 1029, 1143, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1198, 1257, 1271, 1274, 1298, 1299, 1310, 1416, 1430, 1506, 1619, 1620, 1649, 1660, 1765, 1776, 1790, 1879, 1886, 1888, 1913, 2073, 2115, 2120, 2130, 2224, 2260, 2358, 2374, 2379, 2414, 2571, 2591, 2711, 3026, 3078, 3098, 3174, 3233, 3388, 3507, 3535; *Sac* 2, 39, 62, 73, 85, 94, 108, 118, 126, 136, 163, 174, 183, 196, 263, 290, 293, 296; *SDom* 1, 2, 101, 103, 112, 133, 136, 143, 148, 180, 201, 228, 261, 289, 312, 321, 337, 352, 387, 487, 518, 533, 536, 581, 613, 636, 644, 683, 684, 695, 696, 721, 732, 759, 775; *Alix* 1, 4, 5, 14, 50, 55, 60, 63, 80, 98, 104, 105, 126, 132, 144, 148, 194, 232, 286, 290, 330, 349, 351, 359, 363, 366, 375, 403, 416, 455, 622, 637, 700, 732, 777, 781, 782, 793, 887, 904, 926, 933.

(impf. ind.) *Cid* 36, 311, 429, 662, 665, 682, 696, 1577, 3000, 3619; *Sac* 4, 111, 125, 244; *SDom* 13, 16, 39, 88, 187, 251, 421, 422, 454, 514; *Alix* 27, 36, 123, 126, 165, 173, 197, 201, 210, 213, 246, 252, 304, 390, 411, 427, 490, 518, 572, 600, 603, 675, 789, 805, 822, 829, 858, 864, 892, 939, 988.

(pret.) *Cid* 265, 517, 851, 1202, 1693, 2850, 2898, 3044, 3112, 3157; *Sac* 51, 65, 74, 218, 220, 242, 293, 296; *SDom* 19, 53, 54, 62, 112, 119, 163, 219, 225, 253, 289, 304, 311, 340, 370, 416, 428, 498, 559, 560, 570, 607, 613, 645, 767, 769; *Alix* 7, 88, 118, 119, 126, 174, 182, 185, 196, 200, 227, 402, 411, 472, 508, 521, 554, 564, 565, 606, 623, 625, 653, 719, 741, 779, 809, 887, 889, 892, 897, 912, 915, 933, 976.

(pret.) *Cid* 2202; *SDom* 163, 766; *Sac* 190; *Aliz* 98, 138, 150, 219, 341, 471, 564, 624, 653, 887, 996; *Loor* 48; *Mil* 348, 461, 901.

(fut.) *Cid* 2862, 3315; *SDom* 186; *Aliz* 95, 140, 966.

(condtl.) *SDom* 8, 74, 751; *Aliz* 278, 673, 945; *Duelo* 130; *Mil* 76, 494, 545.

(pres. subj.) *Sac* 70; *Aliz* 3, 65; *Himnos* 1.6; *SMill* 199.

(impf. subj.) *Alex* 16; *SMill* 402, 585.

(fut. subj.) *SOria* 19.

### **soler.**

This verb is one of the less frequent of the modal auxiliaries. This is probably due to the fact that there were other means of expressing approximately its sense, while in the case of other auxiliaries the sense was unique. Thus the imperfect indicative might be used when no emphasis was needed, and with emphasis *usar* and infinitive, with or without preposition. These agencies doubtless somewhat diminished the frequency of *soler* with infinitive. In the *Sacrificio* it is noted about sixteen times, while in the *Cid* only one instance of it occurs. This shows considerable irregularity in its use by authors of the period. It is noticeable that the present and imperfect indicative are the only tenses represented in these texts (except for one instance of the present subjunctive in *SDom* 177).

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 3380; *SDom* 2, 51, 95, 470, 551, 776; *Duelo* 28; *SOria* 4, 39; *Mil* 141, 149, 704; *SMill* 5, 147, 485.

(impf. ind.) *SDom* 177, 188, 399, 574, 635, 691; *Sac* 6, 51, 114, 134, 149, 231, 233, 336, 396, 465, 476, 514, 719, 737, 738, 878; *SMill* 26, 77, 224, 234, 335.

(pres. subj.) *SDom* 177.

## THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF WISHING AND LIKING

15. The strongest of the verbs eligible for this class, *querer*, has already been treated under the modal auxiliaries, but there are several others of slightly varying sense that rightly belong here. *Cobdiçar* and *amar* are the most frequent verbs of the



group, the others appearing only sporadically. It is a striking fact that *cobdiçiar* alone can be used with prepositions, the others being confined to the pure infinitive object. This is not so peculiar when it is considered that the idea of *wishing* naturally takes an object direct rather than through the agency of the preposition, at best slightly roundabout, and it is because of this directness in reaching the object of *wishing* that some verb like *volere*, *quaerere*, has always been considered as a modal auxiliary in each of the Romance languages. It is also true that there is no verb of *wishing* or *liking* listed under the *de*-infinitive except *cobdiçiar* (the nearest being *asmar*, Eng. *aim*). An exceptional case under the pure infinitive is *gozar*, more regular with reflexive pronoun and *de* in the sense of *to enjoy*. It is also noteworthy that *dessear*, which is common later, occurs only twice in our texts.

#### **amar.**

This is the only infinitive construction noted for *amar*.

Non amaba oir palabras de vanidat *SOria* 22  
 amete sienpre laudar e benedeçir *Mil* 522  
 ama lidiar *Cron* 43a3  
 amas derecho departir *Aliz* 349  
 aman vnos a otros escatimas buscar *Aliz* 1796  
 mas aman fer thesoros que vedar estulticia *Aliz* 1800  
 lo aman seruir *Aliz* 2314  
 Amaba desti mundo seer desembargado *SMill* 34  
 Bien amarie . . . exir dest exilio de malvezeat poblado *SMill* 34  
 Siempre amé foir esti siglo astroso *SMill* 103

#### **cobdiçiar.**

The infinitives with *de*, *a*, *por*, are also found with *cobdiçiar*.

cobdiçias allá ir *SOria* 158  
 la que yo fer cobdiçio *SDom* 53  
 Qui los regnos agenos cobdiçia conquistar *Aliz* 65  
 Lo que el Padre sancto cobdiçiaua veer *SDom* 488  
 yo beuir non cobdiçio *Aliz* 1684  
 El que perder non teme nin cobdiçia ganar *Aliz* 1917  
 cobdiçian condesar *Aliz* 1917



con mis vasallos cobdiçio yo morir *Aliz* 2132  
 cobdiciariemos ante morir *Cron* 46a28  
 cobdiciaua ya uerse ayuntado con los moros *Cron* 394b19  
 cobdiciaua uer et ser en tal affruenta con Almançor en el campo  
*Cron* 395a3  
 cobdiciando uerter de la sangre de los moros *Cron* 396a13  
 cobdiciando casar con un rey *Cron* 454a18  
 ell cobdiciando uenir a la mas alta onrra *Cron* 664b9

An equivalent of *cobdiçar* is the noun locution *auer cobdiçia*. Expressions like this usually take *de* to introduce the infinitive, and are common as variants for the simple verbs. The preposition is omitted in:

Sy auedes cobdiçia a la tierra tornar *Aliz* 1591  
 Tanto auie grant cobdiçia con Poro se fallar *Aliz* 1965

#### **dessear.**

desseando morir por la fe *Cron* 686b27  
 desseando uençer o morir *Cron* 695a10

#### **gozar.**

Used reflexively *gozar* takes the *de*-infinitive in the sense of *to enjoy*.

gozolo oyr *Aliz* 2576

#### **gradar.**

Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> calls this a *verbo auxiliar de modo*, and translates *gradó exir* by *quiso salir*.

gradó exir de la posada *Cid* 200

### THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF THE MENTAL PROCESSES

16. The verbs of this group offer more diversity in sense than is usually desired in classifying instances according to meaning. They do, however, all come under the rather general head of the mental processes. It is evident that any classification ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* II, *gradar*.

cording to meaning is necessarily inaccurate, because verbs do not fall into clear-cut groups but merge one into the other almost imperceptibly, so that a given verb can often be grouped equally well in either of two classes. Evidence of this is at hand in the systems of treatment of this immediate group by various Romance scholars. Dittes, for the Provençal, chooses only *saber*, *jutjar*, and *esperar* for this section while considering verbs of fearing in a group by themselves. Diez<sup>1</sup> with the *verbes de sentiment*, includes *temer*, *creer*, *cuidar*, *desear*, *pretender*, *fingir*, *esperar*. Otto for the Portuguese puts together *die Verben des Denkens, Empfindens und Sagens, sowie bei verbalen Ausdrücken, die "halten für . . ., nehmen für . . .," bedeuten*. Here he groups verbs like *conhecer*, *crer*, *esperar*, *imaginar*, *confessar*, *jurar*, *negar*, *pedir*, etc. The list that seems most appropriate in Old Spanish includes *asmar*, *cuidar* and *pensar* — which naturally go together as verbs of thinking, — *dennar* (from Latin *dignari* . . . to consider worthy), *esperar*, and the verbs of fearing, *temer* and *dubdar*. It will be seen that these verbs do not so universally take the pure infinitive as the verbs of wishing above. On the contrary, the *de*-infinitive is more common with these verbs of the mental processes than the pure construction. The *relative de* (*in respect to, concerning, in the matter of, relating to*) fits in very well with nearly all the members of the group. *Pensar* almost always takes *de*; *asmar*, *dubdar*, and *temer* take *de* currently; while *cuidar* and *dennar* form exceptions to this usage and remain pure in a great majority of instances.

#### **asmar.**

This verb occurs more often with *de*-infinitive.

Asmaba esconderse en alguna socarrena,  
 Non fer ningun enoio a iantar nin a çena *SMill* 192  
 asmo fer vna cosa el solo señero *Aliz* 600  
 Asmo yr prender lengua . . . de las huestes *Aliz* 601  
 Asmo fer vn castillo *Aliz* 720

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 209, 6.

asmauan con eso encobrir la çelada *Aliz* 730

Asmava el buen omne atravesar la mar *Aliz* 2247

Asmo de la primera . . . tornar en Babiloña *Aliz* 2438

*Tener* forms an emphatic perfect with the past participle of *asmar* in:

tiene asmade los Infernos proçiar,

a mi con todos vos otros en cadenas echar *Aliz* 2418

*cuydar* (cui-, cue-).

Menéndez Pidal lists *cuidar*<sup>1</sup> under the verbs of *entendimiento ó sentido* along with *oir* and *ver*. Though rare with prepositional infinitive, it does occur with *de*, as might be expected from the frequency of *de* with *pensar* and *asmar*, naturally associated with *cuydar*. The *en*-infinitive is also noted with *cuydar* (*en* becomes common with *pensar* later). Thus, though *cuydar* and *pensar* show the effect of influence on each other, each preserves its own predominant type in our texts, *pensar* with *de* and *cuydar* with pure infinitive. Although the two verbs had much the same sense, they were not equivalents (*pensar* had the additional sense of *disponerse a*, *empezar a*, etc.)<sup>2</sup>. Considerable irregularity of use is found in these verbs, some authors using one with great frequency and neglecting the other, and vice versa. Thus *pensar* is extremely common in the *Cid*, but not elsewhere. *Cuydar*, however, is only noted four times in the *Cid*, while in the *Alizandre* there are about seventy recurrences of it. Its proportionate frequency also varies greatly in the other texts examined.

Cuido por esta manna aver delli derecho *SDom* 173

De toda esta coyta cuidaria sanar *SDom* 342

Yo sano e guarido cuidaria tornar *SDom* 476

cuidaban aver el ospedado *SDom* 508

non cueido y pecar *SDom* 581

Cuidaron traer prenda . . . Cuidaron fer ganancia *SDom* 702

cuedandol engannar *Cron* 322b34

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160, 4.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of these senses, see Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *pensar*.

cuedas reuellar et deffenderte a los alaraues *Cron* 322b44  
 cuedandosse fallar y algunos *Cron* 338b17  
 nin le cuedaua auer *Cron* 344a33  
 non cuydauan beuir mas *Cron* 353b5  
 así commo el cuydara fazer trayçion a Alhacan *Cron* 358a41  
 nunqua a sus tierras cuedauan ya tornar *Cron* 367b20  
 cuedando ya estar en paz *Cron* 371a14  
 por aquella trayçion que cuedauan fazer *Cron* 376b6  
 de lo mio que cuedo fazer *Cron* 401b40  
 Yo cuedaua prender oy a el et a sus cristianos *Cron* 405a44  
 cuedandose alli defender *Cron* 411a17

Also *Cid* 556, 972, 2961, 3011; *SDom* 435; *Sac* 209; *Loor* 46, 223; *Soria* 110, 139; *Mil* 127, 128, 189, 207, 465, 472, 522, 595, 603, 638, 640; *SMill* 13, 82, 196, 262, 270, 453; *Duelo* 96, 139, 161; *Sig* 54; *Aliz* 104, 150, 254, 338, 347, 464, 472, 492, 498, 519, 564, 567, 569, 584, 664, 770, 805, 943, 956, 1001, 1017, 1020, 1102, 1105, 1184, 1195, 1251, 1355, 1397, 1485, 1543, 1544, 1606, 1649, 1655, 1670, 1676, 1730, 1757, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1905, 1920, 2000, 2029, 2037, 2058, 2124, 2155, 2174, 2185, 2234, 2272, 2369, 2372, 2405, 2412, 2426, 2464, 2492, 2503, 2579, 2635; *Cron* 411b48, 414a6, 414a32, 414a36, 414a41, 422b41, 452b29, 461b7, 462a46, 506a38, 507a15, 507a17, 517a28, etc.

### **dennar (-ñ-).**

It is noteworthy that this verb is not used in the *Cid* at all, while in the *Milagros* it occurs in seven instances and is found fourteen times in the *Santo Domingo*. I mention these facts to show the lack of uniformity in its appearance in our texts. Considering, as the facts show, that Berceo used *dennar* currently in his poems, it seems strange that if he wrote the *Alizandre*, he allowed it to appear only once in all the 10,000 lines it contains. It will be seen from the examples following that *dennar* was particularly current in prayers to the Creator or to the saints for assistance. Its use was evidently quite restricted at this period and more affected by religious writings than those purely laical. No prepositional constructions are at hand for *dennar*.

sy en algo pecaremos el nos deñe valer *Aliz* 4  
 denna nos defender *Himnos* 3.6  
 miraglos Que dennó Dios al mundo por elli demostrar *SMil* 10  
 dennest prender passion *SMil* 119  
 . . . que nos dennó driar *SMil* 231  
 . . . Que denne poner termino al nuestro luengo planto *SMi* 326  
 denna a mi catar *Duelo* 75  
 Emperadriz gloriosa denna a nos catar *Loor* 221  
 el nos deñe guyar *SDom* 289  
 La su uirtut preciosa que te deño guarir *SDom* 312  
 deña me visitar *SDom* 342  
 fuera que li deñasse Dios los oios abrir *SDom* 346  
 . . . que dennasse por elli al Criador rogar *SDom* 427  
 . . . que elli lis deñasse conseio enbiar *SDom* 450  
 Sy tu por mj dennasses una mjssa cantar *SDom* 476  
 deña me guarescer *SDom* 576  
 deña amj catar *SDom* 649  
 tu deña por ellos aDios merçed pedir *SDom* 764  
 rogamos que deñes delas nuestras pensar *SDom* 766  
 deña nos defender *SDom* 769  
 Denna rescebir, Padre, la nuestra confession *SDom* 771  
 deña por Gonçalo al Criador rogar *SDom* 775  
 miraclo. . . Que por Sancta Maria dennó Dios demostrar *Mil* 75  
 Los que por la Gloriosa denna Dios demostrar *Mil* 235  
 Madre gloriosa dennanos perdonar *Mil* 389  
 de tan grant infamia me dennesti guarir *Mil* 543  
 la gracia que me deñesti fer *Mil* 545  
 li denno valer *Mil* 845, 862

### **pensar.**

The pure infinitive is quite rare with *pensar*, the regular use being with *de*. The infinitives with *a* and *por* are found once each. *Pensar* with pure infinitive shows a great similarity to *cuydar* in the same use, although even here a subtle difference can be noticed. With *de*, however, there is more difference evident, and the *pensar* locution varies from a close approximation of *cuydar* to the sense mentioned by Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* II, *penssar*.

of *disponerse a, empezar a*. In the few examples of pure infinitive with *pensar* following, five instances come from the *Alixandre*.

penso contra el yr *Alix* 521

pensaron a porfidia en los muros sobir *Alix* 1071

penso fer cada vno a dios su petiçion *Alix* 1163

. . . pensaron al fer:

quando escuresçie de biuo lo prender,

darlo a Alixandre por mejor lo aver *Alix* 1680

mandaua cridar que pensasen las leys sus casas aguardar *Alix* 2414

Pensat, diz Laurencio, tornar del otro lado,

Buscat buena pevrada, ca assaz so assado,

Pensat de almorzar, ca avredes lazdrado *SLaur* 104

In the last citation above *pensar* and *pensar de* are employed with no perceptible difference of meaning. In the citations from the *Alixandre*, however, the normal sense of *pensar* with pure infinitive is evident.

#### **esperar.**

Without initial *e* this verb appears as *sperar*, also taking pure infinitive object. No prepositional uses occur. The two cases from the *Crónica* both come from the same page, and the use of the first may have caused the use of the second.

qual gualardon espera en cabo rresçebir *Alix* 1792

esperando ell auer el sennorio *Cron* 714a48

sperando prender essa cipdad *Cron* 714b9

#### **dubdar.**

The pure infinitive with *dubdar* is rarer than the *de*-infinitive. The construction with *en* occurs once. The ethical dative in reflexive pronoun objects is not noted with *dubdar* and pure infinitive, though it is found with *temer*, a closely related verb. Four of the five examples following are taken from the *Alixandre*. All are negative.

instances as cases of absorption. It is evident, however, that if the author did not wish to use the preposition, there was no necessity for his so doing, since other texts offer several additional examples of the pure construction with no possibility of absorption:

- començo darle guerra *Aliz* 402  
 Començol mal traher con palabras yradas *Aliz* 451  
 Començol dar priesa *Aliz* 685  
 començaron guerrear luego *Cron* 219a6  
 començo . . . guerrear a Aragon *Cron* 653b19  
 començaron ordenar commo yrien cercar a Valencia *Cron* 605a46  
 obras de piedad que començo y fazer *Cron* 684b32  
 començo yr su uia *Cron* 741a50

It should be remarked as significant that five of these citations come from the *Crónica*, a prose text slightly later than Berceo. Thus neither was the construction with pure infinitive antiquated, nor was *a* here omitted for metrical reasons.

#### enpeçar (em-).

This verb is, like *començar*, much more common with *de* and *a*. Of these prepositions, *a* is much more frequently employed than *de*. Six instances of the pure infinitive are listed below, in three of which there is possibility of absorption of *a* (see § 45).

- Enpeçol el maestro al Infant demandar *Aliz* 35  
 enpeço . . . a todos maltraher *Aliz* 2058  
 enpieçan al cresuelo veylar los abezantes *Aliz* 2529  
 Empezó en los clerigos fazer grant crueldat *SLaur* 26  
 Ante que empezasse tanner la monedera *Mil* 290  
 Empezó con grant gozo cantar Salve Regina *Mil* 539

#### ensayar.

Several examples of *ensayar* with *de*-infinitive occur.

- non . . . ensayaua fazer con ella nada *Cron* 626b42

**guisar.**

This verb is commonly used only as a reflexive. It then takes *por*, *pora*, and *para* with the infinitive in expressions of purpose. As a transitive, it is noted with *pora*-infinitive.

uos guise yo comer *Cron* 135b5

guisando mantenerle la *Cron* 539a19

**mere(s)çer.**

The pure infinitive is the most frequent with *meresçer*, though examples of the constructions with *a* and *de* occur. It is interesting that it is not noted at all in the *Cid*, and only once in the *Alizandre*.

non meresçe Mesopinia ser oluidado *Aliz* 273

Non mereçen mis carnes iaçer tan viçiosas *SOria* 130

mereçie seer levado *Mil* 241

El mal non mereçiendo seer tan mal iuzgado *Duelo* 48

Non mereçie seer echado del sagrario *Mil* 107

Non mereçe entrar *Mil* 245

Non mereçie iaçer *Mil* 277

el mi buen prez que yo merecia auer *Cron* 39b51

tu meresciste dexas la locura de los ydolos *Cron* 188a17

. . . que despues de la muerte meresca seer coronado de Dios

*Cron* 686a44

veremos qual de nos meresçe mas traer las ondas *Cron* 763b15

para meresçer reynar con el *Cron* 771a36

. . . porque merescamos auer parte con el *Cron* 774b2

**osar.**

The most frequent verb of this section is *osar*. The only striking fact in its syntax is that its union with dependent infinitive is so close that no prepositional constructions are found. For this reason it is sometimes classed as a modal auxiliary (Diez and Menéndez Pidal so class it, but Meyer-Lübke and Otto omit it from their lists of auxiliaries).

non lo osaua catar *Aliz* 36

non osarie el fillo nunca ally asomar *Aliz* 156

non las osaron tanner de los pulgares *SDom* 276

fer non lo osaria *Duelo* 129



non osa ninguno dar salto a la çaga *Cid* 483  
 el otro non gel osó esperar *Cid* 768  
 . . . quomo osas fablar? *Cid* 3328  
 non osaua nadi entrarle fiador *Alex* 229  
 paresçer non osaua ninguno en su derecho *Aliz* 517  
 yxir a la batalla ninguno non osaua *Aliz* 591  
 Tanto osarien alçar contra uos la çeruiz *Alex* 746  
 non osaremos en ella asomar *Aliz* 875  
 pararsely delante ningunos non osauan *Aliz* 987  
 el mensajero dezir non lo osaua *Aliz* 1231  
 lo que entendemos dezir non lo osamos *Aliz* 1252  
 non osaua ninguno tomar arma, *Cron* 520a21  
 non osaua ninguno parecer ant el *Cron* 520a36  
 non les osaua tomar ninguna cosa *Cron* 520a39

Also: *Cid* 30, 44, 64, 1171, 1375, 2890; *Sac* 26, 139; *SDom* 353, 442, 744; *Mil* 88, 380, 791; *Sig* 19, 61; *Loor* 42; *Aliz* 1249, 1308, 1310, 1311, 1313, 1596, 2049, 2076, 2146, 2296, 2404, 2409, 2614; *Cron* 522a7, 529a21, 556a51, 556a7, 559a29, 562b42, 563a52, 563b9, 566a15, 566b17, 575a26, 583a21, 583b33.

#### **treuerse (-v-).**

This verb is treated as a modal auxiliary by Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> because of its similarity to *osar*. *Treuerse* also takes *a* with the infinitive.

Nin se trevien foir *SMil* 452  
 non se treven ganar tanto *Cid* 567  
 arrancar me los trevo con la merçed del Criador *Cid* 2337  
 contra la aguijada coçear non me treuo *SDom* 102  
 qui pazes te demanda nos treve guerrear *Aliz* 1254  
 lidiar nos treuien *Aliz* 1996  
 se la non treuie uencer *Cron* 93a50  
 non se le trouo esperar *Cron* 500a3  
 non se treuien ya lidiar con los cristianos *Cron* 529a46  
 et si se treuie lidiar con ellos *Cron* 573a39

#### **usar.**

Several instances of *a*- and *de*-infinitives with *usar* are noted -  
 assi como dantigo usaran fazer los godos *Cron* 348a23

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160.

THE PURE INFINITIVE AS OBJECT OF FAZER, DEXAR,  
AND MANDAR

18. The infinitive is commonly considered as the object of *fazer*, *dexar*, etc. in such constructions as *fizo lo quedar*. Thus Meyer-Lübke treats it, and with him the majority of Romance scholars. Otto however, following Lücking, destroys the clarity of relation between *fazer* and infinitive by discussing a logical and a grammatical point of view, according to the first of which he takes the infinitive to be a predicate noun in relation to the direct object (generally a pronoun) of *fazer*. Whatever value this subtle complication may have in logic, it has none for this study. I shall, therefore, follow the generally accepted treatment of the phenomenon rather than the ingenious method of Lücking and Otto.

In Old Spanish the regular constructions of *fazer* and infinitive are *fizo lo quedar* and *fizo les fazer cartas*, according as one or two objects are present. Thus the personal object is generally direct if the infinitive has no object expressed, while it is indirect if such an object is present. Exceptions to this treatment will be considered later.

The problem of greatest interest in connection with the *fazer* group, which includes the verbs of sense perception (*ver* and *oyr*), is that of the indirect object of the agent, regular when the infinitive has an object as well as *fazer*. The theory formerly held was due to Tobler,<sup>1</sup> and has been supported by Meyer-Lübke, Körting, Brunot and others. This theory explains the indirect object of the agent with *fazer* and infinitive as due to analogy with the group of verbs taking a direct object of the thing and indirect object of the person. Thus for the French is cited as a parallel construction *j'ordonne à mon ami de faire une démarche*. The indirect is then considered as the normal form of this personal object, and the direct as a later deviation.

Muller<sup>2</sup> successfully combats this position, and shows that

<sup>1</sup> *Verm. Beitr.*, I, p. 167. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> "La Préposition à dans les locutions du type de *Faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un*," Columbia Dissertation, 1912.

the dative here is to be traced back to a variety of the possessive dative in Latin. He quotes Lejay:<sup>1</sup> "Une variété du datif possessif est le datif de l'agent du passif. Il semble qu'à l'origine ce datif, joint à une forme quelconque du passif, n'était pas différent du datif dit d'intérêt." In this connection, compare the Classical Latin use of the dative of the agent in gerundive constructions such as *mihi credendum est*.

A summary of Muller's study follows:

The passive infinitive of transitive verbs was used in Folk Latin with *facere* (in the sense of *jubere*), with the verbs of sense perception, and with verbs of ordering. Examples:

Quatuor arietes occidi fecit, *Vulg., Tob.*, 8, 22

Quorum facitis vota compleri, *Epist. ad Justin.*, 10, 8, 2

Eum adduci jusserat, *Passion. Leudgar.*, 1, 12

Consequently, the dative of the agent was employed with the passive infinitive in the above constructions:

Sic nos iudicibus ipsum praeceptum relegi fecimus, *Cod. Lon.*, t. IV, p. 259

Festivis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam populo fac eis praedicari verbum Dei, *Vit. Vedast.*, 415

litteras . . . quas . . . de tribunali populis eas feceris adnunciari, *Esp. Sagrad.*, t. V, p. 406

Et neque nobis neque ab heredibus nostris presens cartulam posse dirumpi, *Muratori*, t. II, dis. 6, 32, p. 475

With intransitive verbs, the passive infinitive not being available, the regular subject-accusative was used instead of the above dative of the agent.

Stare faciet alios, *Vulg., Job*, 34, 24

Ut pervenire facerent ad eum clamorem egeni, *Vulg., Job*, 34, 28

Et horis aliquot (animal) deambulare facies, *Veg., Ars vet.*, I, 54

Muller shows (p. 41) that from about the beginning of the seventh century, the indistinct pronunciation of final un-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mélanges Havel*, p. 199.

accented vowels caused a confusion between the active and the passive forms of the present infinitive, so that out of the four conjugations, only the third presented even in written texts a distinct passive form. Thus *amare-amari*, *monere-moneri*, and *finire-finiri* became confused, and the active infinitive was substituted in these constructions, which formerly took the passive. But the passive sense still survived in the active form, as is evidenced by the fact that active and passive infinitive appear in the same passages in the same construction, the infinitive of the verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations standing in the active form and the infinitive of verbs of the third appearing in the passive, because here phonetic confusion was impossible (*ducere-ducī, occidere-occidi*).

Gestorum veritas quae historiae inseri possit, ad plenum reperire non potest, Fred., 2, 49

Vel quicquid dici aut nominare potest, Marc. Form., II, 4, 77, 8

Nominibus nostris subscribi et confirmare iubemus, Esp. Sagrad., t. XL, p. 382

During the latter part of the eighth century the passive form of the infinitives of the third conjugation is also replaced by the active, though the sense remains unchanged (*fieri*, very significantly, is the latest passive form noted):

Fac fieri quod et ipse jubes miserere rogantis, Drac. Carm. 3, 618

Deprecans ut . . . facere ei jubissemus, Pardessus, 173, 129

Deinde quodquod volueris scapilatura facere facere fac, Murator., t. IV, Dis. 24, p. 683

After the disappearance of the passive infinitive, the dative of the agent is retained with the active infinitive, the passive sense still being felt:

Aperire fecit filiis matris viscera, V. Caes., I, 33

faciat nobis peccata nostra . . . cognoscere, Cap. R. F., t. II, n° 185, 5

Thus the personal indirect object in Romance constructions of the *faire faire* type is the survival of the dative of the agent employed in Folk Latin. The use of *d* with nouns and pronouns to indicate the indirect object is traceable to the general supplanting of the dative by *ad* at the time of the loss of case endings:<sup>1</sup>

Ecclesia beati S. Petri qui ad me fundata est, *C. L.*, t. V,  
939, 695

In Old Spanish, as indeed in Modern Spanish, sentences like *fizolo solerrar* can be understood to have either active or passive sense in the infinitive (if active, *lo* would be the object of *solerrar*). At the present time probably a majority of conscious users of Spanish would not admit the passive force of the infinitive in the construction discussed by Muller. At what time the feeling for the traditional passive was lost, if it has indeed been lost, cannot be determined. A passive sense can, however, be most readily ascribed to the infinitive in phrases of the type *fizolo solerrar*. When the position of the object is after the infinitive (the object here being generally a noun, as in *fizo fer armas*), it often seems a violence to the construction to consider the infinitive as passive. In any case, the position of objects in the following citations permits rather of speculation as to probability, than of certainty, in the matter of active or passive sense in the infinitive. Since the infinitive is active in form, and our period so far removed from that of the passive infinitive in these constructions, it is usually possible to consider the sense, as well as the form, of the infinitive as active.

The most frequent position of the object is between *fazer* and the dependent infinitive. In this position, it seems to me, the infinitive may readily be felt as passive:

*fiaolos nonbrar* *Cid* 1264

*figieronlo damnar* *Duelo* 72

*Fizo todos los ninnos de Belleem matar* *Duelo* 199

*fizolo enforçar* *Alir* 169

<sup>1</sup> Muller, *Prep. d.*, p. 60.

fizo los huesos en vn fuego echar *Aliz* 169

fizolo encantar *Aliz* 395

fizo conçeio fer *Aliz* 551

fizolas enlazar *Aliz* 644

fazial prender biuo *Aliz* 936

Fizolo ençender *Mil* 362

fizo se ala casa traher *SDom* 391

faze los matar *Aliz* 1809

. . . fer se llamar señor *Aliz* 2441

fizo el templo consagrar *Sac* 68

o: *Aliz* 666, 792, 857, 867, 889, 915, 1024, 1168, 1197, 1361, 1536, 1539, 1693, 1783, 1809, 1949, 2367, 2380, 2463, 2629; 51, 68, 242; *SDom* 111, 332, 552, 559, 741.

The object also stands commonly between *fazer* and infinitive and the infinitive is intransitive:

fizolo quedar *Aliz* 492

non fizolos seyer quedos *Aliz* 499

fizo a Luçifer en infierno caer *SMill* 100

Fizome . . . entrar *SOria* 149

façelas ir *Himnos* 3.1

fizieron los foyr *Aliz* 992

fizieron los lazzar *Aliz* 1413

o: *Aliz* 395, 590, 616, 618, 1278, 1554, 1786, 1808, 1858, 1991; *SOria* 149; *Sac* 163; *SMill* 250; *SLaur* 1; *Loor* 135.

Examples of the object preceding the *fazer* form, though not so numerous as those just discussed. This position lends itself easily to a passive interpretation of the infinitive:

en vida nos faz juntar *Cid* 365

lo farie colgar *Aliz* 761

lo fizo en ello comedyr *Aliz* 2432

el coral que los rrayos faze bien rreferir *Aliz* 1454

lo fizieron atar *Aliz* 1695

non se fazien temer *Aliz* 1872

Tu la hagas barrer *Mil* 177

. . . ques fazie en el mar . . . traher *Aliz* 1426

This position with intransitive infinitives is even more frequent than with transitives:

non lo farian reyr *SDom* 89  
 nos façen peccar *Mil* 121  
 me faga dios morir *Aliz* 1765  
 te fizo Dios de los reys nasçer *Loor* 20  
 dios te faga durar *Aliz* 779  
 el vos faga del mundo seyer enperador *Aliz* 178  
 los fizo quedar *Aliz* 540  
 Sagita que las nuues faz a ssy uenir *Alex* 1454

Also: *Mil* 351, 388, 396; *Aliz* 104, 133, 351, 507, 819, 1046.

The position of the object most naturally used with active infinitive (*fizo fer una capa*) is comparatively frequent in our texts. The fact that with intransitive infinitive this position is quite rare helps to support the theory that the infinitive here actually takes the object. It is significant that all objects discovered in this position are nouns, and are perhaps placed after the infinitive in order not to break the close connection between it and *fazer*. This closeness of relation is hardly disturbed by the use of the pronoun between the two verbs (*fizolo fer*). Meyer-Lübke classes *hacer* as a modal auxiliary along with *dexar*, thus recognizing the close union of *hacer* and dependent infinitive.

. . . por fer matar a Etor *Aliz* 662  
 Faz camiar tu nombre *Aliz* 376  
 fizo rrancar las tiendas *Aliz* 755  
 . . . que faga i cantar mill missas *Cid* 225  
 fizo mio Çid fincar siete tabladós *Cid* 2249  
 Fizo en vna carta Dario fer la figura *Aliz* 138  
 Façie pudir la casa *SMil* 184  
 Fizo aparellar toda la cleresçia *Aliz* 1120  
 faze purgar la fenbra *Aliz* 1459  
 Fizo prender dos grifos *Aliz* 2461  
 Fizo fer vna casa *Aliz* 2462  
 Fizo fer vna capa *Aliz* 212  
 fizo el rrey . . . poblar vna rrica çibdat *Aliz* 2073



With intransitive infinitive:

fare venir a Dario merçed a nos pedyr *Alex* 194

fazen bolar las nuues *Aliz* 686

fazie . . . plorar a sus barones *Aliz* 1770

Only the examples with one object are treated above. These are much more numerous than those having two objects. In the latter cases, the agent is made the indirect object, and the infinitive has a direct object definitely its own. There are so few examples available that little of value can be gained by a study of the position of the objects present, but it is interesting to observe the great variety of arrangements employed:

1. fazen les encorvar . . . las çeruizes *Aliz* 2320
2. fizieselos quitar *Aliz* 1568
3. fizieron lo ellos a los otros leuar *Aliz* 1695
4. fizolo saber luego a sus adelantados *Aliz* 826
5. yo le fare leuar el gato *Aliz* 1270
6. nos faze a todos tan buen padre perder *Aliz* 2619
7. carrera mala le fagamos tomar *Aliz* 2421
8. el que se fazie dios a los omnes dezir *Aliz* 1511
9. no lo pudieron fazer saber a los otros *Cron* 58a54

Of these arrangements, the first and second are much the most frequent, the others occurring only sporadically.

1. faze a las nodrizas auer leyte sobeja *Aliz* 1459
- fazel oluidar la materia *Aliz* 1789
- querria fer a la madre veyer del fio duelo *Aliz* 2532
- fazen al omne fer muyta villania *Aliz* 2356
- fizieron a los romanos saber el danno *Cron* 20a25
- fizoles echar suertes *Cron* 20b38
- fes le entender bien toda tu voluntad *Aliz* 379
- Fizieron les tornar las cuestas *Aliz* 616
- fazial . . . dar vn grito agudo *SDom* 627
- la que face al carro perder el cabezon *Sac* 264
- Façieli el demonio deçir grandes locuras *SMill* 158
- fizoles fazer luego cartas de saluedat *Aliz* 292
- Fizoli despuiar la cogulla *Mil* 560
- Fiçieronlis deçir toda la pleytesia *Mil* 891
- fazen les encorvar . . . las çeurizes *Aliz* 2320



2. *fazie a los suyos las fronteras rrobar* *Aliz* 857  
*Esta faz a los omnes omezidios obrar* *Aliz* 2346  
*fazeles a las madres los fijos matar* *Aliz* 2346  
*Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar* *SLaur* 29  
*Fazieles la grant cueyta el miedo oluidar* *Aliz* 2138  
*faznoslo entender* *SOria* 153  
*enuio al buen Padre fergelo entender* *SDom* 331
3. *faze enamistades a los omnes boluer* *Aliz* 1808  
*faz lo que a nos dizes a ellos entender* *Aliz* 1818  
*Fazelo a los pueblos bendezir e laudar* *Aliz* 2380
5. *Que li fagas cobrar lo que solie aver* *Mil* 738  
*nol pueden fazer comer un muessos de pan* *Cid* 1032  
*querriente fer . . . pechar la molendura* *Aliz* 1342  
*Cueyta me faz prender a mi esta carrera* *Aliz* 2407

There was little irregularity in the use of direct and indirect objects in the *fazer* construction in our texts. Confusion was encouraged by forms doing duty for either direct or indirect object (*me, te, se, nos, vos, and a* with nouns and pronouns). On the whole, the regularity of treatment is more remarkable than the exceptions thereto.

One object is present, indirect form:

- le fizo contorçer* *Aliz* 1046  
*fizol amolleçer* *Aliz* 1840  
*fazial prender biuo* *Aliz* 936  
*fizieron les syn grado en las naues entrar* *Aliz* 618

Two objects are present, both direct in form:

- Avn auie el rrey mucho mas que fablar,*  
*metieron todos bozes, fizieronlo la callar* *Aliz* 2273
- El emperador anda por la fe guerrear,*  
*Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar* *SLaur* 29

A clause may take the place of the passive object, the agent remaining indirect:

- Fizoles cuemo era la cosa entender* *Alex* 539  
*Fizieron le creyer que lo querien matar* *Aliz* 1881  
*faz lo que a nos dizes a ellos entender* *Aliz* 1818

**dexar, dessar.**

This verb in general follows the treatment of *fazer*, described above. The pronoun object is found, however, somewhat more often preceding *dexar* (*non se dexo caher*, Alix 2071) than between *dexar* and infinitive, the prevailing position with *fazer* (*fizolo fazer*). Thus a very close union is observed between *dexar* and its dependent infinitive, for which reason Meyer-Lübke classes it as a modal auxiliary. Intransitive infinitives are found more often with *dexar* in our texts than transitives.

The object stands before *dexar*, infinitive transitive:

quenlas dexe sacar *Cid* 1277  
 nin nos dessés perder *Himnos* 3.6  
 non lo dexo enterrar *Alix* 169  
 non se dexaua echar *Alix* 573  
 Asmaua . . . ques dexasen vençer *Alix* 722  
 por vna mala fenbra se dexo forçar *Alix* 750  
 Por una çeresa se dexa despeñar *Alex* 1763

In the same position, infinitive intransitive:

non lo dexa creçer *Alix* 764  
 dios te dexe beuir *Alix* 20  
 nolo dexo errar *Sac* 190  
 non me dessa falar *Duelo* 146  
 no lo dexaron en su tienda estar *Alex* 1553  
 así me dexe a España pasar *Alix* 1767  
 non se dexo caher *Alix* 2071

Also: *Alix* 148, 338, 584, 1918, 2252, 2287, 2397; *Mil* 581.

With the object standing between *dexar* and infinitive, transitive infinitives are particularly rare in our texts. These few instances are readily acceptable with passive interpretation of the infinitive (N.B. *matar* as the infinitive).

dexan la pobleçer *Alix* 1848  
 Desose matar *Loor* 91  
 dexose en crux matar *Loor* 135  
 Dexaronse matar *SOría* 81

The infinitive is intransitive:

- déxenvos andar *Cid* 897  
 déxem ir en paz *Cid* 978  
 dexóla creçer *Cid* 3273  
 Dexemos al buen omne folgar en su posada *SDom* 113  
 dessóse morir *Duelo* 108  
 dessades vuestra Madre vevir *Duelo* 125  
 non dexauan las porras seyer de vegar *Alix* 1737  
 dexolo dios beuir *Alix* 1356  
 dexarnos ha beuir *Alix* 2069  
 Quiero dexar al rrey en las naues folgar *Alix* 2302  
 dexase morir *Alix* 2367  
 non dexaua las parras llegar a las figeras *Alix* 2527  
 dexaronlo vivir *Mil* 156

The position in which the object (a noun) follows both verb is rare:

- Dexó correr un canto *Alex* 557  
 Dexó correr la lança *Alex* 663  
 Non dexedes legar a vos otras compannas *Duelo* 174

One position affected by *dexar*, and lacking for *fazer*, is that in which the infinitive precedes both *dexar* and the object, thus giving the infinitive special emphasis:

- quedar non las dexauan *Alix* 258  
 rogar non se dexaron mucho los mensageros *SDom* 117  
 . . . que caer non nos dexe en mala temptaçon *Sac* 264  
 morir se dexarie *Alix* 2539  
 errar non las dexaban *Mil* 8

With two objects present, there is naturally not so great a variety of order shown by *dexar* as by *fazer*, as *dexar* appears only about one-half as often as *fazer* in all uses. The normal *fazer* type (*fizoles echar suertes*, *Cron* 20b38) is strangely lacking in *dexar*. The infinitive regularly stands last.

- non dexes a tus gentes tan grant daño prender *Alix* 597  
 Déssateme, sennora, los tus pïedes tanner *Mil* 488  
 sol non les dexauan la cabeça rrascar *Alix* 1077  
 Asi me dexe dios mi voluntad conplir *Alix* 1766

Que me dexe en paz mi rencura decir *Mil* 769  
 valia de vn dinero non li dexan lleuar *Aliz* 1787  
 A nos essa nos desse el Criador usar *Mil* 704  
 nunca gela dexe . . . prouar *Aliz* 2239  
 . . . que nunca nos lo dexe ensayar nin sentir *Aliz* 2401  
 a los judios te dexeste prender *Cid* 347  
 dexóse prender al cuello *Cid* 3339  
 dexosle manear todo a derredor *Aliz* 116  
 nunca dexarla quiso a otri tener *Aliz* 2575

Exceptions to the use of direct and indirect objects are extremely rare:

. . . nol dexassen beuir *Alex* 331  
 non los dexe el miedo su derecho conplir *Aliz* 2056

#### **mandar.**

The first position of the object (*los manda echar*, *Cid* 679), so common with *dezar* and *fazer*, is the least affected by *mandar*. In this position the infinitive is generally susceptible of passive interpretation. In the *Cid*, however, some instances of nouns standing before *mandar* may be considered as inversions of the position naturally assumed when the infinitive has the object (*Mandó librar el canpo*, *Cid* 3693). The inversion would then be made for the sake of the verse, or for emphasis.

pregón mandó echar *Cid* 1187  
 la quinta mandó tomar *Cid* 1216  
 conducho nos mandó dar *Cid* 1409  
 Conduchos largos el rey enbiar mandava *Cid* 1972  
 lo mandara criar *Mil* 569  
 lo mando todo far *Sac* 39

**Also:** *Cid* 679, 1878; *Loor* 89; *Mil* 233.

With intransitive infinitive:

. . . quel mandasse fablar *Alex* 35  
 a paso las manda yr *Aliz* 74  
 me mandas fincar *SMil* 61

**Also:** *Aliz* 803; *Mil* 480; *SDom* 89, 341.

The second position of the object (*mandaualo tomar*, Alex 938) is found most frequently with *mandar*, as with *fazer*, and readily permits a passive interpretation of the infinitive.

With transitive infinitive:

mandó mill marcos de plata a San Pero levar *Cid* 1285

mandólo recabdar *Cid* 1482

mandólo vedar *Cid* 2308

mandédesle tomar *Cid* 3515

Mando todas sus gentes . . . guarnir *Aliz* 585

mando . . . vegilias tener *Aliz* 551

mandaua tres ganados offrir *Sac* 73

Mandolo luego prender *Aliz* 169

al rey Alixandre mandaualo tomar *Aliz* 938

mandola . . . destroyr e quemar *Aliz* 1581

mando al mensajero . . . rrica albricia dar *Aliz* 1962

mando las calentar *Aliz* 2047

mandó ella el ninnuelo levar *Mil* 565

Mandól poner a letras *Mil* 577

Also: *Cid* 312, 1013, 1536; *Alex* 776, 779, 792, 938, 1671, 1681, 2049, 2072, 2091, 2154, 2200, 2270, 2274, 2367, 2402, 2584.

With intransitive infinitive:

Mandólos venir a la corth *Cid* 1263

a todos los sos estar los mandó *Cid* 2017

mandáronle ir adelante *Cid* 2766

mando lo yr *SDom* 19

manda amj alla entrar *SDom* 341

mando todos los monges uenjr al parlatorio *SDom* 447

Mandolis atender *Mil* 88

mandolas seyer quedas *Aliz* 963

Also: *Sac* 125; *Aliz* 963, 1267, 1575, 1631, 1953; *SMill* - *Loor* 144.

The word order most naturally employed when the infinitive takes the object is especially frequent with *mandar* (*mandaualo*).



*traher el agua*, SDom 394). This position of the object appeared less often than any other with *fazer*, while with *dezar* the number of instances was so small as to be negligible. The object here is found to be a noun in all the instances noted. This was probably quite as much a determining factor as any consciousness of the relation between infinitive and object, since the pronoun did not break the close connection of conjugated verb and infinitive object nearly so much as did the noun (*mandaualo tomar* and *mando todos los monges uenjr*, Alix 938 and SDom 447).

- Mandad coger la tienda Cid 208  
 mandó veer sus yentes mio Cid Cid 417  
 Mandó partir tod aqueste aver Cid 510  
 mandó tornar la seña Cid 596  
 . . . que mandasse regebir a esta conpañia Cid 1829  
 Mandaron cargar las azémilas Cid 2705  
 Mandó fazer candelas Cid 3055  
 mando traher el agua SDom 394  
 Mandó çebar al pobre Loor 50  
 Mandó creer un Dios Loor 88  
 Manda llamar los clérigos Soria 193  
 mando feryr pregones Alix 418, 437  
 mando pregonar Etor conçeio general Alix 578  
 mando mouer las hurestes, prender otras posadas Alix 304  
 Mando fer vnas letras Alix 762  
 Mando luego el rrey prender los mensaieros Alix 776  
 mandaron fer apriesa . . . saetas e quadrillos Alix 1074  
 mando tañer las tronpas e feryr las bozinas Alix 1275  
 mando prender . . . la su mesnada clara Alix 1328  
 mando traher las parias Alix 2560  
 mando fer el buen rey conçeio general Alix 2502  
 mando alçar los fumos Alix 2444  
 Mando poner la cadiella . . . Alix 1819  
 mandó . . . façer muy grant foguera Mil 848  
 Mandó tener a todos los dessa mayson SMil 189

A number of instances of *mandar* are noted with no object other than the infinitive expressed:

mando caualgar *Alix* 938, 1115, 1870  
 Mando ally cauar *Alix* 1152  
 Mando luego mouer *Alix* 1275  
 mandaua cridar que . . . *Alix* 2414 (*que* clause replacing object)  
 mandedes ensellar *Cid* 317

With two objects present, *mandar* shows several varieties of word order, the most frequent having both objects between *mandar* and its infinitive (thus permitting the infinitive to carry the rhyme):

mando luego a las compannas tomar sus armas *Cron* 71b49  
 mandoli tomar ordenes *SDom* 42  
 Mandástesme mover a Bavioca *Cid* 3513  
 mandaron les fazer cada unos sus sennales *Cron* 99b6  
 Mandádnolo ferir *Cid* 2364  
 mando [al] chancellor las letras escreuir *Alix* 792  
 Mando a todos muchas de las cañas prender *Alix* 2154  
 Mandó a los ministros la casulla traer *Mil* 71  
 mándovos los cuorpos ondradamientre vestir *Cid* 1871  
 Mandote cada dia un salmo reçitar *Mil* 262  
 Mandogelas . . . levar *Mil* 400  
 a todos sos varones mandó fazer una cárcava *Cid* 561  
 mando toller las armas a la gent suya lazada *Alix* 1059  
 mando fincar las tiendas al su pueblo lazado *Alix* 1892  
 Mandó mouer las naues á los naueadores *Alex* 228  
 Otro procurador non me mandes buscar *Mil* 797  
 Mandaron el cauallo a Dario caualgar *Alix* 1720  
 Mandóla a los angeles prender *Mil* 533  
 Mando luego la carta ditar al chançeller *Alix* 1963  
 lei lis mandaba tal sacrilegio far *Duelo* 31

*Que* acts as one of the objects in:

Sin muchas romerias que lis mandó andar *Mil* 400  
 Sin muchas oraçiones que lis mandó rezar *Mil* 400  
 Al que Sancta Maria lo mandó maestrar *Mil* 494  
 Quanto que Xpo manda creer a xpiano *Mil* 795

*Le* and *lis* are used instead of *lo* and *los* (one object only present):

mandáronle ir adelante *Cid* 2766  
 mandédesle tomar *Cid* 3515  
 . . . quel mandasse fablar *Alex* 35  
 mandol enpeçar *Aliz* 36  
 mandolis atender *Mil* 88  
 Mandole . . . yr *Aliz* 1575

#### THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF SENSE PERCEPTION

19. Muller shows that in Folk Latin these verbs received in general the same treatment as *fazer*, taking the passive infinitive, and with it the dative of the agent or *ab* with the ablative: *videret exercitum . . . ab his cingi . . .*, Esp. Sagrad., t. VI, p. 552.

The active infinitive is found later with passive sense: *Et quidquid inibi Estiva conjugii meae habere videntur*, C. L., t. V, 906, 504.

In this section will be treated only *oyr* and *ver* for Old Spanish. Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> classes *cuidar* with *ver* and *oyr*. This verb is better treated, however, under the group dealing with the mental processes, since its sense is much closer to that of *pensar* and *asmar* than to that of *oyr* and *ver*. *Oyr* occurs but rarely in comparison with *ver*.

#### *oyr*.

This verb conforms to the conditions stated above for *fazer*. All positions of the object are found with *oyr*, though in few instances each.

The object precedes *oyr*:

las oy yo tanner *SMil* 487  
 sy lo oyestes contar *Aliz* 344, 999  
 sil oviestes contar *Cid* 2314

The object intervenes between *oyr* and the infinitive:

oyeron las gentes de la fuente rretraher *Aliz* 2137  
 Oyeron un sonido del cielo descender *Loor* 155; also *Sac*  
 125, 285

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160, 4.



The object follows both verb forms in *SDom* 592, although here the infinitive is intransitive:

udio del buen confessor andar estos roydos

There are two objects present:

Odiemoslo dezir a los mas ançianos *SMill* 404

tu muert odi conssejar a ifantes de Carrión *Cid* 2670

a Isayas creo que las oy deçir *Loor* 96

*Oyr* is not infrequent without object, or with a *que* clause replacing the object:

Siempre oy deçir que . . . *SMill* 121

si oyestes contar . . . *SDom* 187

oyo dezir por nuevas dessa enfermedat *SDom* 405

nunca fablar odiestes de otros tan arteros *SDom* 479

commo odredes contar *Cid* 684

como oyemos dezir *Alix* 2271

**ver, veer, veder** (u-).

The best example of infinitives used with *ver* is found in *Cid* 726-730:

Veriedes tantas lanças premer e alçar,  
tanta adágara foradar e passar,  
tanta loriga falssar e desmanchar,  
tantos pendones blancos salir vermejos en sangre,  
tantos buenos cavallos sin sos dueños andar

and in *Cid* 1966-1969:

¿quién vido por Castiella tanta mula preçiada,  
e tanto palafre que bien anda,  
cavallos gruessos e corredores sin falla,  
tanto buen pendón meter en buenas astas, etc.

In these passages the comparatively detached condition of *the* infinitives is conspicuous. This will also be evident in many of the examples following. The union of the infinitive object with *oyr* and *ver* was clearly much looser than with *fazer*, etc. This will be further brought out in the discussion of passages having two objects. It is likewise to be noted that transitive infinitives with *ver* are rare.

The object precedes *ver*:

Tres reyes veo de moros derredor de mí estar *Cid* 637

quando vieron assomar *Cid* 1393

por que me veades lidiar *Cid* 1653

tanto braço con loriga veriedes caer a part,

. . . cavallos sin dueños salir a todas partes *Cid* 2406

lo vieron entrar *Cid* 3107

le veo lazar *Loor* 89

Todas estas mezquindades que te veo sufrir *Loor* 96

los veyen grofiir *Alix* 2049

o: *Cid* 1141, 1645; *SOria* 86; *Alix* 449, 465, 673, 1230, 1330, 9, 1975, 2042, 2049, 2165, 2234.

The object stands between *ver* and the infinitive:

Si viéredes yentes venir *Cid* 388

Mala cueta es . . . fijos e mugieres veer los murir de fanbre  
*Cid* 1179

Veriedes cavalleros venir de todas partes *Cid* 1415

veirme an lidiar *Cid* 1641

Víolos venir *Cid* 2772

uio al diçiplo seyer tan sin color *Alix* 34

vio vna serpiente con dos aguilas lidiar *Alix* 390

veo a Sant Martin çerca de mj estar *SDom* 695

Veol por mi morir *Loor* 78

er examples of this position: *Cid* 919, 1141, 1393, 1645, 3, 2400, 2413; *SOria* 142; *Alix* 55, 524, 1091, 1397, 1824, 7, 2071, 2203, 2210, 2366, 2468, 2469, 2568; *SMill* 357; *aur* 63; *Loor* 173, 179; *Mil* 279, 490, 598, 599, 600, 674; *elo* 48; *Sig* 19; *SDom* 393, 644.

The object stands after the infinitive (even here the transitive infinitive is rarely met):

Quando vido mio Çid asomar a Minaya *Cid* 919

veriedes crebar tantas cuerdas *Cid* 2400

vido venir a Diago e a Fernando *Cid* 2440

. . . fasta que viesse venir sus primas amas a dos *Cid* 2770

Vio arder la lámpada *SMill* 335

Vedia correr sangre *Duelo* 49

Vido sobir los angeles *SOria* 42

o: *Alix* 2320, 2467; *Loor* 136, 210; *Mil* 592, 604, 734.

*Ver* and infinitive, when two objects are present, depart from the closely observed custom with *fazer*, etc. of making the agent the indirect object instead of the direct.

Veriedes cavalleros, que bien andantes son,  
besar las manos, espedirse de rey Alfons Cid 2159

Here the intervention of a *que* clause between *cavalleros* and *besar* may have made *Veriedes cavalleros* sufficiently independent so that the presence of the second object *manos* was neglected. The same condition is noted in *Cid* 1228, where *barata* is made the actual object of *ver* and the construction is split, both intended objects being made direct:

en el passar de Xucar i veriédes barata,  
moros en arruenço amidos beber agua

The *Cid* also apparently neglects the presence of *se* as an object, and makes the agent with *ver* direct, whether such an agent is personal or not:

Aquí veriedes quexarse ifantes de Carrión! Cid 3207  
veriedes armarse moros Cid 697  
veriedes . . . arrancarse las estacas e acostarse los tendales  
Cid 2400

Accepted instances of regularity are noted in:

Todas estas mezquindades que te veo sufrir Loor 96  
veye al proximo bien aver o liticia Alx 2329

Even these are not entirely satisfactory as examples of regular treatment, since in the first case the personal object *te*, and in the second *al proximo*, can hardly be considered more definitely indirect in form than direct.

Thus out of 7 instances of *ver* and infinitive with two objects, it is shown that none is a perfect case of regularity according to the use of objects with *fazer*, while at least 5 are definitely exceptions to such use. It is evident, therefore, that *ver* had by this time departed considerably from the use of the group with which it had been associated in the Vulgar Latin period.

Doubtless this condition accompanied the looseness of construction that is to be noted in so many of the citations above. The dependence of the infinitive on *ver* being so slight as to permit whole clauses to intervene, a resultant laxness in the use of direct and indirect objects is only to be expected, since a consciousness of the principle involved would vary almost in proportion to the closeness of construction.

As the one object present, *le* is used in:

El que manda todo esto por mi le veo lazarar *Loor* 89  
 quandol vió venir *Loor* 44  
 Veol por mi morir *Loor* 78  
 quandol vieron assomar *Cid* 1393

The use of the personal *a* is interesting in *Verán a las estrellas caer de su logar*, Sig 19.

#### THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF PERMITTING AND FORBIDDING

20. The members of this group are in sense closely related to the *fazer* group just discussed. In syntactical treatment they resemble rather the verbs taking the ordinary construction of indirect object of person and direct object of thing: *otorgouos lo yo*, Alix 1590. There are not enough instances of any of these verbs, however, to permit any detailed study of them, since none occurs more than twice. *Consentir* alone is found with the regular two objects present. *Dexa* might well replace *Lexa* in *Lexa estar*, Cron 43b35. For the *de*-infinitive with this group, see p. 129.

#### **comendar.**

comiendo la my madre servirla *Alix* 2599

#### **consentir.**

The prepositional infinitives with *de* and *en* are also noted with *consentir*.

non les consintie fer las cosas vedadas *Mil* 510  
 consentielis en cabo complir sus voluntades *Alix* 2571

**lexar** (probably has the same provenience as *dezar*: see Körting, *Lat. rom. Wörterbuch*, 2910, 5491; Gröber, *Arch. für lat. Lex.*, III, pp. 509, 510; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, p. 417).

The preposition *de* may introduce the infinitive with *lexar*.

*Lexa estar* *Cron* 43b35

**sufrir.**

comme la deslealdat et la suziedat de aquella yente desleal lo  
sufre seer entre si *Cron* 721b48

**vedar.**

viédales exir e viédales entrar *Cid* 1205

viedanos él matar *Loor* 89

#### THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION

21. Lachmund<sup>1</sup> discusses the pure infinitive with the verbs of motion thus: "Am reinsten hat sich der reine Infinitiv in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung und Stellung erhalten bei den Verba der Bewegung . . . Der Infinitiv steht hier zur Bezeichnung des Zwecks." Although a literal interpretation of the first statement would not be quite accurate, since the purest use of the pure infinitive is rather that of subject or object, at which times it most clearly shows its dual nature of noun and verb, in the main Lachmund's points are well made. Meyer-Lübke<sup>2</sup> shows that *ire* and *venire* could take the pure infinitive in Latin, and that thus used it expressed *goal*. From its current appearance with *ire* and *venire*, the most common verbs of motion, it spread to the other verbs of the group until in Old Spanish it became one of the most frequent of the infinitive constructions. Not merely were other intransitive verbs of motion affected, but also transitives (*enbiar*, *dereçer*, *guiar*) and reflexives (*adelantarse*, *levantarse*, etc.). By analogy with these, the pure infinitive might be used with such reflexives as *trabaiarse*, where the concept of

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber den Gebrauch des reinen und präpositionalen Infinitivs im Altfranzösischen*, p. 5. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, § 503.

motion was figurative and remote. *Goal* is the function naturally ascribed to the infinitive with verbs of motion (see Lachmund and Meyer-Lübke above), since *motion* implies a *goal*; yet it should be noted that this concept delicately merges into that of *purpose*. A predominance of one or the other, however, is usually not difficult to sense (e.g. *goal* in *Vayamos posar*, Cid 1531, and *purpose* in *descendio morar a los llanos*, Cron 467b50. This *purpose* sense in the pure infinitive permits clausal dependence in such cases as *descendio al Infierno su pleitó rrecabdar*, Alix 2311; *Por entrar a la missa la confession fazer*, Mil 71; for instances with *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* see pp. 159, 209, 233, 235. The same conditions are noted in these verbs with the *a*-infinitive, for the construction with *a* came gradually to replace the pure infinitive in these uses. Even at the period of our texts the class with *a* is considerably the larger, though all the common verbs of motion take both modes of expression (*descender*, *entrar*, *exir*, *yr*, *tornar*, *venir*, etc.). Probably the reason why the pure infinitive came to be abandoned by this group except with the most frequent verbs was the fact that the pure infinitive was not definite, while the construction with *a* was both definite and emphatic. Confusion was conceivable with the pure construction, but with *a* practically the only senses that could be expressed were the very ones associated with these verbs (*goal* and *purpose*).

(a) *Intransitive Verbs*

**descender.**

This verb also takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive. More of purpose than of goal is expressed here:

descendio morar a los llanos Cron 467b50

**entrar.**

The infinitives with *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* are also noted with *entrar*.

Ante que a las parias entremos rescebir Alix 2503

Entró el sacristano el sepulcro catar SMil 335

Entró fer oraçion el novio refrescado Mil 338

*Al Criador rogar* not infrequently depends on a *goal* clause:

El padre cordoioso entró a su altar,  
 como era usado al criador rogar *SDom* 366  
 Entró a la iglesia al Criador rogar *SDom* 425  
 entro el ala iglesia, al Criador rogar *SDom* 300

### **exir.**

The prepositions *a* and *por* are also found with *exir* and infinitive.

exien lo veer mugieres e varones *Cid* 16

### **yr.**

The most frequent verb of motion in Old Spanish is *yr*. Mentioned by Meyer-Lübke along with *venir* as being the starting-point for the development of the pure infinitive with verbs of motion in Latin, it maintained, if it did not increase, the varieties of its usefulness. It occurs commonly in all texts and takes all the prepositions that express *goal* or *purpose* (*a*, *por*, *pora*, *para*). Menéndez Pidal, after pointing out that verbs of motion, now regularly requiring a preposition, were used in the *Cid* with pure infinitive, states that from indicating motion toward something *ir* came to express *intention* like *querer*. He further says that *la manol va besar*, *Cid* 369, is in sense identical with *quitsol besar las manos*, *Cid* 265. From this point the *yr* construction becomes for Menéndez Pidal a useless paraphrase, because "no supone que el deseo deje de estar seguido de la realización del acto deseado, sino generalmente lo contrario."<sup>1</sup>

The main steps in the weakening of *yr* are well brought out by Menéndez Pidal, but the statement that the *yr* construction becomes a useless paraphrase, which he also remarks for *querer*, *mandar*, *fazer*, *tornar* and others, appears too sweeping to be valid. According to this point of view it would seem that, as soon as an infinitive construction becomes especially frequent, it degenerates into uselessness. The difference between complete and almost complete disappearance of sense in *yr* with

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160.

infinitive is probably just the difference between almost complete and complete accuracy in Menéndez Pidal's remark. Why should not some slight sense of *yr* remain in even the weakest of its uses? The same scholar says that *vayamos caualgar* is equivalent to *cavalguemos*, and *vayades passar* to *passedes*.<sup>1</sup> A similar and quite as current a construction is at hand in the French *allons chanter*. But *allons chanter* is not exactly equivalent to *chantons* any more than *vayamos caualgar* is exactly equivalent to *cavalguemos*. If nothing more, *vayamos* and *allons* give an emphasis, a force, an inception to the action that is quite lost in the simple imperative. If the language were to be denuded of such expressions as this, in which the original strength has been largely lost, many fine and delicate shades of thought would have to go with them because of the lack of an appropriate vehicle. The above is not intended as a criticism of Menéndez Pidal's main points, but merely as a suggestion against a too literal interpretation of his statements concerning equivalence.

It is interesting to note that *andar*, which is in modern times naturally associated with *yr*, does not occur with pure infinitive object in the texts studied, and only rarely with *a*.

The presence of the reflexive pronoun with normally intransitive verbs of motion is to be occasionally remarked (cf. *Cid* 772: *El rey Fariz en Teruel se fue entrar*).

Examples of *yr* and infinitive:

- la manol ban besar *Cid* 298
- El Çid a doña Ximena ívala abraçar *Cid* 368
- ellos ivan posar *Cid* 415
- vayámoslos ferir *Cid* 676
- la seña va tomar *Cid* 692
- indos conseguir *Cid* 833
- id a mio Çid buscar *Cid* 898
- valo abraçar sin falla *Cid* 920
- hiremos veer aquella su almofalla *Cid* 1124
- quien quiere ir comigo çercar a Valençia *Cid* 1192

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160, 3.



vos fdgelos levar *Cid* 1274  
 vos vayades passar *Cid* 1462  
 Vayamos posar *Cid* 1531  
 hir los hemos fferir *Cid* 1690  
 Mandaronme que fuese albergar con Johan *Duelo* 159  
 Nin vaian esta noche visitar las uxores *Duelo* 175  
 Fueron abrazarla *Soria* 64  
 Yt arder en el fuego *Sig* 32  
 Vaia yaçer con Iudas *Mil* 245  
 Iba . . . la esposa prender *Mil* 336  
 mando lo yr el padre las oueias guardar *SDom* 19  
 yre buscar do biua contra Estremadura *SDom* 180  
 Fue aSancto Domingo merçed li demandar *SDom* 579  
 a Dios se fo acomendar *Cid* 411  
 fústed meter tras la viga lagar *Cid* 3365  
 fo besar la mano a so señor Alfons *Cid* 3512

Also: *Cid* 369, 400, 401, 402, 547, 553, 655, 694, 707, 718, 752,  
 1137, 1203, 1369, 1505, 1516, 1628, 1696, 1718, 1762, 1951,  
 2092, 2216, 2235, 2328, 2381, 2384, 2395, 2627, 2653, 2672,  
 2817, 2858, 2876, 2879, 2888, 3021, 3053, 3318, 3361, 3572;  
*Aliz* 165, 174, 284, 386, 419, 464, 514, 562, 572, 623, 665, 677,  
 755, 803, 875, 986, 997, 1072, 1089, 1091, 1110, 1115, 1120,  
 1127, 1136, 1166, 1278, 1316, 1360, 1528, 1541, 1552, 1664,  
 1690, 1702, 1704, 1756, 1789, 1859, 1899, 1920, 1925, 1947, 2179,  
 2613, 2627, 2628; *Mil* 343, 398, 400, 546, 547, 636, 654, 691,  
 730, 732, 759, 760, 761, 819, 840; *Soria* 123; *SDom* 97, 559,  
 574; *SLaur* 29, 33; *SMill* 5, 140, 192, 231, 234, 272, 278, 352,  
 356, 417; *Cron* 4b54, 9a18, 10a45, 10b50, 13b28, 14a10, 14b33,  
 16b22, etc., etc.

### **llegar.**

The pure infinitive is found with *llegar* only once, while the prepositional constructions with *a* and *pora* are not infrequent. *Llegar* had a successful rival in *uuiar* which took the pure infinitive regularly and with approximately the same sense (cf. *uuiar* below). There may be absorption of *a* by *ayudar* in this case:

llego ayudar a sacar el cuerpo (ref. lost)

**pasar.**

Other infinitive constructions of *pasar* have *a*, *por* and *pora*. It is not frequent in any construction.

*pasaron veer los de la otra parte* *Cron* 766b11

**sal(l)ir.**

The most noteworthy fact concerning *salir* is the predominance of the locution *salir reęibir*. Other infinitives are rare. This locution also occurs commonly with *a*. In general use *salir* takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with its infinitive.

*reęibirlos sale* *Cid* 297  
*Saliólos reęibir* *Cid* 487  
*Saliólos reęibir* *Cid* 1478  
*reęibir salien las dueñas* *Cid* 1583  
*reęibir lo salen* *Cid* 2015  
*saliólos reęibir* *Cid* 2649  
*Salieron resęibirla* *Soria* 63  
*Salieron resęibirla* *Soria* 64  
*sallieron rresęibir lo* *Alex* 1516  
*salleron rresęibir lo* *Alex* 1518  
*salieron los reęibir* *Cron* 221b26.

Other locutions than *salir reęibir*:

*salieron lidiar con los romanos* *Cron* 30a53  
*salgamos lidiar* *Cron* 596a39  
*le saldre yo dar fazienda* *Cron* 605a33  
*salieran correr* *Cron* 743b52

**tornar.**

The prepositions *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* are found with *tornar* and infinitive. Menéndez Pidal states<sup>1</sup> that "tornar no expresa, como propiamente debiera, un sentido iterativo, y no da matiz alguno especial al verbo simple." Exception might be taken to the words "como propiamente debiera" (since *tornar* may express *to turn* or *to return to the doing*), and to "no da matiz alguno . . ." The same reasoning applies to *tornar* as to *yr* above, concerning which Menéndez Pidal

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160, [2].

says approximately the same thing. The *iterative* sense is clear in *Cron* 270a5: *pidiol quel diesse caualleros con que tornasse otra vez lidiar con aquellos reuellados*.

**(h)uuiar, vuiar.**

This verb, as an intransitive, is a rival of *llegar* with infinitive, and is assigned the sense of the latter by Menéndez Pidal.<sup>1</sup> Like *llegar* it also takes the infinitive with *a* (cf. French related locution *arriver à* with infinitive). Like *mouer*, it is also used as a transitive and reflexive (in the sense of *to aid*, etc.). It is a notable fact that only the *Alizandre* and the *Crónica* yield examples of *uuiar* and infinitive. In instances such as *apenas lo uuiauan saber aquellos contra que yuan ni apercebir se dello*, *Cron* 45b40, it is evidently the infinitive that takes the object, and not *uuiar*, in spite of the juxtaposition of the latter.

el no la uuio acabar ante de su muert *Cron* 9b13  
 no lo uuiara complir *Cron* 39a53  
 apenas lo uuiauan saber aquellos contra que yuan ni apercebir  
 se dello *Cron* 45b40  
 no lo uuiaron saber las gentes *Cron* 45b52  
 non gelo uuiaran fazer saber *Cron* 49b6  
 ante que lo uuiasse fazer, llego poder de Costantino *Cron* 181b12  
 uuio escapar *Cron* 330a31  
 huuiaron uenir *Cron* 445b46  
 ante que la hueste . . . huuiasse posar nin llegar *Cron* 456b6  
 se non huuió el componer pora salir a ellos *Cron* 468a24  
 ante que la mano huuiasse llegar al Çid *Cron* 642b28  
 non huuiaron alcançar fuera *Cron* 759b52  
 abes vuiauan Atrouos los fillos desordir *Aliz* 1103  
 en Bracta vuiaron asomar *Aliz* 2164  
 ante que los vuiase ihu xristo saluar *Aliz* 2400

Also: *Cron* 96b44, 637b23, 744b53, 745a18, 753b25, 756b3, 757a2, 764b40, 765a1, 765a35, 765a37.

**venir (u-).**

As mentioned above, *venire* shared with *ire* the distinction of being the starting point of the infinitive construction with

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* II, *huuiar*.

verbs of motion. In Old Spanish these two verbs are still the most frequent and representative members of their group. Considerably less weakening of sense is to be noted in *venir* with infinitive than in *yr*, discussed above. The essential difference between the two verbs was not always rigidly observed however.<sup>1</sup> The prepositional constructions with *a*, *por*, and *pora* are found with *venir*.

- te vinieron adorar *Cid* 336  
 Vino mio Cid yazer a Spinaz de Can *Cid* 393  
 vino posar sobre Alcoçer *Cid* 630  
 los uino saluar *Sac* 53  
 vinieron grandes gentes la fiesta çelebrar *Sac* 68  
 yo ati vin buscar *SDom* 341  
 me ujenes guarir *SDom* 658  
 nos vino salvar *SOria* 1  
 vinolo combidar *Mil* 134  
 Ven tastar *Mil* 730  
 Tienpo serie e ora que nos vengas valer *Aliz* 597  
 vino al rrey colpar *Aliz* 2029  
 venie beuer al rrio *Aliz* 2159  
 vinieron todas veyerlo *Aliz* 2301  
 vienelo rreçebir *Aliz* 2367  
 los antipades quiere venir buscar *Aliz* 2418  
 Vynien çercar a Troya *Aliz* 2536  
 vinie rrobar el mundo *Aliz* 2566

Also: *Cid* 532, 644, 646, 651, 981, 1071, 1076, 1099, 1105, 1183, 1208, 1224, 1475, 1476, 1498, 2312, 2371, 3114b, 3131; *Duelo* 102; *SOria* 33, 132, 142, 150, 193; *Loor* 3; *Sac* 271, 289; *SDom* 362, 427, 618; *Mil* 512, 738, 862; *SMill* 17, 286, 307, 398, 454; *SLaur* 84; *Aliz* 194, 217, 264, 695, 747, 929, 931, 1210, 1738, 1863, 1864.

#### (b) Transitive Verbs

In Otto's study, these verbs do not form a group by themselves. It seems evident, however, that to make the groups already treated under the pure infinitive object absorb even

<sup>1</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *venir*.

these few verbs would be doing violence to the syntactical uses of those groups. With the following verbs the infinitive expresses clearly the concept of *goal*, a concept which in some instances merges into that of *purpose*, but which is quite distinct from that of object with verbs of *wishing*, *permitting*, etc., etc. There may be two objects present, as in the *fazer* group, but there is always this concept of *goal* to be felt, which is entirely lacking in the *fazer* construction. Thus the function of the infinitive with these transitives is found to be the same as with the intransitives just discussed (e.g. *goal* being equally evident in *enuiaronlo dezir*, Cron 374a17, and in *vayamoslos ferir*, Cid 676).

The verbs of this group also take *a*, *pora* and *para* with the infinitive. *Pora* and *para* give an increased sense of *purpose* or *goal*, but *a* adds little not already present in the pure infinitive (*Enbio end poderes . . . conquerir Capadoçia*, Alix 821; *quando alguno enuiauan a conquerir tierra*, Cron 24b1; . . . *quel enbiassen ballesteros et peones pora combater a Valencia*, Cron 576a22). The prepositional construction is more frequent with these transitive verbs of motion than that without preposition.

#### **aiudar (ay-).**

*Pora*-infinitive also occurs with *aiudar*, but the most frequent construction has *a*. Possibility of absorption of *a* is to be noted in these two cases:

Si Dios nos ajudara fer una remembranza *Duelo* 44  
 si aquel fecho le ayudassen acabar *Cron* 584b14

#### **dereçer.**

The possibility of *a embedida* in this example is also evident (though no cases of *dereçer a* with infinitive are at hand):

tan bien me dereçeste mi cosa acabar *Alix* 2563

#### **enbiar (emb-, env-, enu-).**

This is the most current verb of the transitive class. The basic concept of *goal* imperceptibly merges into that of *purpose*

(*enuiolo dezir a su hermano*, Cron 251a52, and *los enuió Cristo semnar la bendición*, Sac 41). Generally more of *purpose* is to be felt than of *goal*, however. The locution *enbiar dezir* is especially common without specific agent and with the passive object (often *lo*, referring to something already mentioned) standing between *enbiar* and the infinitive: *Pues que el ouo esto fecho enbiolo dezir a Alhacan*, Cron 351b41. *Enbiar* also takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive.

Enbio end poderes . . . conquyr Capadoçia *Aliz* 821  
 Embio sue fazienda dezir a castellanos *SMill* 413  
 Embio un su omne . . . Aduçir los vestidos *SDom* 482  
 Envio dos calonges . . . Probar esto *Mil* 568  
 Embio esso misme deçir a alaveses *SMill* 414  
 enuiaronlo assi dezir a Theoderico . . . *Cron* 243a46  
 enuió el rey Amalarigo dezir all emperador . . . *Cron* 251b25  
 enuiaronlo dezir a Bernaldo *Cron* 374a17  
 enuiaronlo dezir al rey *Cron* 375a25

Also: *Cron* 251b52, 329a16, 380a39, 380a52, 381a8, etc.

#### **guiar.**

This is a normal transitive verb of motion, demonstrating the element of *goal* more clearly than *enbiar*. Only two instances of the verb with pure infinitive occur, however, and both come from the *Milagros*. No prepositional occurrences of *guiar* with infinitive are noted in these texts.

nos guie fer cosas por ond salvos seamos *Mil* 582  
 El que guió a Judas façer el mal mercado *Mil* 871

#### **mouer.**

The regular construction of *mouer* is with *a*. Its use is as transitive, intransitive and reflexive with that preposition. In the following instance, the first *a* is evidently the personal accusative sign, but may have influenced the omission of *a* just before the infinitive.

mouio a este Yuçaf Abentexefin passar a España *Cron* 5<sup>r</sup> --

(c) *Reflexive Verbs*

Reflexive verbs of motion as a class, when taking the infinitive to indicate the *goal* or the *purpose* of an action, usually take the prepositional constructions rather than the pure infinitive. The connection of finite verb and infinitive is not felt to be as close as with *yr, venir*, etc. *Purpose*, rather than *goal*, is the predominating function of the infinitive. In the citations below, all from poetical works, the preposition may have been voluntarily omitted for metrical reasons, the pure infinitive and that with *a* being sufficiently equivalent with such verbs.

**adelantarse.**

adelantauase Simacus el colpe rresçebir *Alex* 1998

**levantarse.**

Infinitive constructions with *a, de, por* and *pora* are also found.

Levantose est monge rezar la matinada,

Tanner a los matines, despertar la mesnada,

Enderezar las lampadas, allumnar la posada *Mil* 288

**trabaiarse.**

More frequent infinitive constructions with *de, por* and *en* are noted with *trabaiarse*.

rogar te quiero . . . que tu non te trauages tanto me perseguir  
*SDom* 696

**vezarse.**

The constructions with *de* and *a* are also found. Absorption of *a* may have been operative in this instance:

se veza aprender *Alix* 2243

## THE INDEPENDENT PURE INFINITIVE

22. Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> gives three classes of propositions in which the infinitive is the only verb present; interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative propositions. The reason for the lack of a finite form of the verb is that the person speaking is thinking in very general terms, and not of one individual as

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 528.



such; hence he employs the general form of preposition, as in *Pourquoi pleurer? Why weep?* Such sentences usually have the value of negative propositions, *Pourquoi pleurer?* meaning that there is no cause for weeping.

Diez<sup>1</sup> states that the independent infinitive can be used in lively discourse, to give rapid orders, summon help, etc. Thus the speaker gets to the goal of his thought more quickly than if the personal form were used. Meyer-Lübke mentions the same classes of independent infinitive propositions as Diez.

The historical infinitive of Latin is said by Diez to have no application in the Romance languages. Only French knows an analogous construction, where the rapid beginning of an action is expressed by *de* with the infinitive. Diez considered that these were not cases of ellipsis, but resulted from the natural tendency to substitute the prepositional for the pure infinitive. This point of view is interesting because Luker<sup>2</sup> in his Columbia University dissertation on the historical infinitive in French, has brought a considerable body of evidence together to prove just the contrary, viz. that ellipsis is the process involved in the French construction, and that the frequency of use of *penser de* in the required senses justified the omission of *penser*.

Our texts offer so few examples of the independent infinitive in any of the categories mentioned by Diez and Meyer-Lübke that they may be considered as highly sporadic. *Mil* 889 offers a case closely resembling the historical infinitive:

Fueron luego venidos grant turma de peones,  
Entraron en la iglesia, trovaron los ladrones,  
Manetraronlos luego commo vinien fellones,  
Darles grandes feridas con muy grandes bastones

Menéndez Pidal's remark for the *Cid* might be extended to include our other texts as well: *Se rechaza del Cantar el uso del infinitivo con valor de imperativo.*<sup>3</sup> In *Alix* 2435 (Morel-

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 203, § 4. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Luker: *The Use of the Infinitive instead of a Finite Verb in Fre*

<sup>3</sup> *Cid* I, § 157.



Fatio) appears, however, the infinitive *guardarte*, rendered by Janer in *Alex* 2293 as the imperative form *guardate*:

Quieres toller del mundo vna grant claredat,  
quieres tornar a Gresçia a grant tenebredat,  
traydor, por que amas tan fiera maluestat?  
guardarte que non fagas con Belsus hermandat!

The infinitive in exclamations is illustrated by *Sac* 75:

Torno a sus discipulos que sedien en ardura,  
Confortolos e dixoles | Dormir, auet folgura !

and in *Duelo* 178-190, occurs the unique refrain *eya velar!* with both exclamatory and imperative force:

- Cantica.* Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar.  
178. Velat aliamas de los iudios, eya velar:  
Que non vos furten el Fijo de Dios, eya velar.  
179. Ca furtarvoslo querran, eya velar:  
Andres e Peidro et Iohan, eya velar.  
180. Non sabedes tanto descanto, eya velar:  
Que salgades de so el canto, eya velar.  
181. Todos son ladronçiellos, eya velar:  
Que assechan por los pestiellos, eya velar.  
182. Vuestra lengua tan palabrera, eya velar:  
A vos dado mala carrera, eya velar, *etc.*, *etc.*

#### THE PURE INFINITIVE DEPENDENT ON RELATIVE PARTICLES, ETC.

#### THE INFINITIVE DEPENDING ON THE RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

23. Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> in discussing the infinitive with the relative and interrogative pronouns states that all the Romance languages have equivalents of *non habeo quod* with infinitive. French is said to add *de* after mistaking *que* for the conjunction, e.g. *si n'i ot que de l'avalier*. But the construction is much more common in the West. Meyer-Lübke cites examples having the infinitive dependent on *por do*, *como* and *donde*, as well

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 676.

*que*. In explaining the phenomenon of the infinitive with relative, he takes the Italian *Non ho que mangiare*, which considers as a fusion of *Non ho que mangi* and *Non ho a mangiare*. Stress of emotion is blamed for the loss of grammatical correctness.

Jenéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> remarks on this subject: "*Además del verbo, bien rige infinitivo sin preposición el relativo, ó la partícula interrogativa. El infinitivo se halla en vez del subjuntivo, no tras 'que' . . . sino tras 'quien'.*"

Diez adds that the infinitive in these phrases is "*complexif*," it is construed immediately with the relative or interrogative particle, but can refer to a direct object preceding, as in *ais mentiras que decir*, *teneis dineros que gastar*, etc. Diez says the only difference between *non so que fare* and *non so questa cosa* to be the order of words. According to him, the infinitive depends on the finite verb, and the relative or interrogative comes to separate the two. There is no ellipsis of a verb in a finite mode, on which the infinitive could depend. Diez finds the construction of early Vulgar Latin origin, giving various examples such as *non habent quid respondere*, etc. The popularity of the infinitive so employed became strong in the West, as remarked by Meyer-Lübke. This is especially so of Old Spanish where the variety of its uses is quite striking. Otto, for the Portuguese of Camões, does not discuss in detail all the cases he notes, but cites about twenty illustrations of the principle, practically all of them being with *que*. The other relatives and interrogatives were evidently either lacking or extremely rare. Old Spanish offers a much richer field, with greater latitude in the choice of the determining particles, with fewer restrictions in the circumstances of their use.

#### (a) *Que with Various Verbs*

Several verbs are found with the relative and interrogative particle *que* taking the infinitive form, chief of which verbs is *querer*. Though current in most of the texts of this period,

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 160, [5. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 254.

*auer que* occurs less often in the *Cid* than *saber que* with infinitive. Sometimes there is the double object construction, as noted by Diez: *Tant avien que veer en esta pestilençia*, SMill 210, but this is by no means as common as that without the second object. The element of *necessity* gradually comes to be noticed in the locutions *auer que* and *tener que*, when the origin of the constructions has been forgotten (see *auer*, *auer a* and *auer de* with infinitive object, expressing *necessity*, etc.)

**auer** (see *auer*, *Cid* II).

- por en avemos qué falar *Cid* 344  
 abrien que veer *Cid* 3100  
 Por ond de la su Madre oviessen que falar *Mil* 441  
 Avia que vistir, avia que calzar,  
 Avia pora mi, avia pora dar *Mil* 760  
 . . . que aian que planner *Duelo* 96  
 heuos yo que gradir mucho *Aliz* 191  
 mucho ay que far *Aliz* 517  
 avremos y que fer *Aliz* 597  
 non auie que fer de tal algo meria *Aliz* 801  
 los vnos e los otros auien pro que veyer *Aliz* 1102  
 de la mi couardia avien que rretrayer *Aliz* 1302  
 avran . . . de nos que falar *Aliz* 1323  
 aurie en otra guisa tres dias bien que far *Aliz* 1414  
 ouieron todos en lo al que veyer *Aliz* 1559  
 non ayas que temer *Aliz* 2082  
 avrie pro que veyer *Aliz* 2211  
 sienpre ha que plorar *Aliz* 2239  
 auie el rrey mucho mas que falar *Aliz* 2273  
 non han que veyer *Aliz* 2374  
 avremos que dezir *Aliz* 2412  
 avrel que gradeçir *Aliz* 2503  
 auemos vna estonda asaz que deportar *Aliz* 2512

**fallar.**

- fallauan que comer *Cron* 134a38  
 . . . porque . . . fallasse ell algo que leuar del *Cron* 137a47

**saber.**

Diez remarks the prevalence of *saber* with the interrogative pronoun and infinitive. Meyer-Lübke makes special mention

- pensemos de ir nuestra vía *Cid* 380  
 pienssen de andar *Cid* 389  
 pienssa de cavalgar *Cid* 394  
 pienssan de cavalgar *Cid* 413  
 pienssan de enviar *Cid* 647  
 piénssanse de adobar *Cid* 681  
 penssedes de folgar *Cid* 1028  
 piénssanse de tornar *Cid* 1152  
 pensólas de adobar *Cid* 1426  
 Penssaron de adobar . . . el palacio *Cid* 2205  
 de cavalgar penssavan *Cid* 2609  
 Piénssanse de ir *Cid* 2644  
 Penssad, señor, de entrar a la cibdad *Cid* 3046  
 penso luego de dar *Aliz* 381  
 pensaron de folgar *Aliz* 435  
 pensadlo de lidiar *Aliz* 454  
 pensaron de feryr *Aliz* 587  
 pensarien de rrobar *Aliz* 724  
 pensaron de sallir *Aliz* 735  
 pensaronse . . . de aguisar *Aliz* 1073  
 piensa de caualgar *Aliz* 1313, 1316  
 pensauan todos de cameras prender *Aliz* 1536  
 penso luego de yr *Aliz* 1554  
 pensaron de fuyr *Aliz* 1691  
 pensaron de tornar *Aliz* 1737  
 pensalo de pelear *Aliz* 1786  
 pensaron de dolar *Aliz* 1994  
 piensa de cavalgar *Aliz* 2273  
 pensolo de guiar *SDom* 19  
 piensa la de uengar *SDom* 425  
 pensaron de serujr *SDom* 442  
 pensso de pressear *SDom* 574  
 Desent amonestados que piensen de orar *Sac* 248  
 piensen bien de rogar *Sac* 248  
 piense Oria de ir a su logar *SOria* 102  
 Pensó de ir su via alegre e pagado *Mil* 213  
 pensemosla nos de servir e honrrar *Mil* 430  
 Desende el pensarie de ferlo buen christiano *Mil* 575  
 pensatla de guardar *Mil* 863  
 pensose de mover *SMil* 77

(b) *Prepositions with que and the Infinitive*

In contrast with the Portuguese of Camões, and probably surpassing the other Romance languages in freedom of employment, Old Spanish offers quite a number of prepositions used with *que* and infinitive. There is a sufficient group of examples to indicate that the construction was a well recognized one, including the six prepositions *a*, *con*, *de*, *en*, *por* and *sobre*. The preposition is evidently determined by the infinitive following, as in *sobre que contender*, *en que trauar*, *a que se tornar*, etc. *Por que* is noted most frequently, and because of this fact comes later to be felt as a unit.

## a.

non auian a que se tornar *Cron* 571a50

non sabie a que catar *Cron* 656b21

nin sabien a que tornar *Alex* 2043

## con.

el non tenie y estrumentos de fierro ni de al con que lo fazer  
*Cron* 64b24

Non ovo nul conseio con que se defender *Mil* 146

non auiendo con quel tener *Cron* 517a33

## de.

no tenie de que quitarlo *Cron* 205b20

non auien de que se crobir *Cron* 312b39

auien de que comprar que calçassen *Cron* 492a14

... dond ouiesse de que se calçar los que la eglesia siruiessen  
*Cron* 492a17

non auien de que conprarlo *Cron* 588a17

## en.

The three examples of *en que* with infinitive show *trauar* as determining the preposition. They are found in the *Crónica* only.

por que non le ayan los omnes en quel trauar *Cron* 419a39

deuedes . . . catar que non fagades cosa que uos ayan los omnes  
en que trauar *Cron* 421b28

non fallan los omnes buenos que en las sus barraganias fallen  
en que trauar *Cron* 511b17

por.

vos he porque reptar *Duelo* 128  
 no auien por que matarse ni por que lazarar *Cron* 9b47  
 no auien por que labrar *Cron* 13a7  
 no as por que me querer mal *Cron* 43a28  
 . . . que non aya ninguno porque me escarnir *SOria* 185  
 non auemos nos por que matarle *Cron* 164a36  
 et que dalli adelante non ouiesse por que se leuantar contienda  
 entrellos *Cron* 367b39  
 rey, non as por que tener ninguno destos *Cron* 411b24  
 nin ouo mester de fazer batallas, nin por que husar de fecho  
 de armas *Cron* 425a31

sobre.

*Contender* causes the use of *sobre* with *que* in these two instances:

Quiero my firmamiento ante todos poner  
 que despues non ayades sobre que contender *Alix* 2598  
 . . . por que non ouiesse sobre que contender *Cron* 367b30

## OTHER RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES THAN QUE

24. The high favor in which infinitive constructions were held in Old Spanish is evidenced by their frequency of use with relatives and interrogatives other than *que*. The most striking fact in this connection is the variety of prepositional modification noted: *a don*, *por do*, *por o*, *con qui*, *a quien* and *con quien*, all with the infinitive.

### com(m)o, cuemo.

There is a causal force in *como* with the infinitive in *Cron* 70b27: *entendieron que aquella batalla cibdadana era, e mas que cibdadana como seer ellos todos parientes unos con otros*. Otherwise, *como* is used with infinitive as the second member of the comparative construction *tanto . . . como* (positive degree). The comparative degree, *mas . . . que*, likewise takes the infinitive: *querien mas moryr que beujr aontados*, *Alix* 1405.

The use of *tanto . . . como* (Eng. *tantamount to*) in definitions is illustrated in the last two citations below.

mas plazio a los griegos que ganar toda Françia *Aliz* 608  
 meior te es a ti los dineros tomar  
 que de gentes catiuas enbargado estar *Aliz* 1244  
 Mas preçiaba dineros que iustiçia tener *Mil* 239  
 Preçiarlo edes mas que mediano comer *Mil* 625  
 mas aman fer thesoros que vedar estultiçia *Aliz* 1800

With intrusive *non*:

plogol mas con aquel logar que no con ell otro, queriendo ante  
 que los daquella uilla ouiessem menos dabondo, e fuessem en  
 sennorio dessi mismos, que non seer much abundados en  
 poder dotri *Cron* 36a31  
 era meior de salir e matar se con ellos que non morir alli de sed  
*Cron* 75a20  
 touo que era meior pedirles poco, e yr todouia creciendo que non  
 pedilles mucho, e auer depues a menguar *Cron* 35a27  
 touo por meior de morir que non fazer ninguna destas cosas  
*Cron* 38a13  
 mayor seso es et mayor pro en las cosas dubdosas esperar  
 tiempo pora quando omne pueda fazer su fecho a meioria  
 de si, que non apressurarse con atreuiençia loca et cometer el  
 fecho a su danno *Cron* 687a43  
 meior era prouar en la batalla la uoluntad del çielo et el periglo  
 que non uer tantos males de su tierra et tantos crebantos  
 de sus sennorios *Cron* 687b12  
 meior serie que non yazer encerrados *Cron* 417a38

The first member of the comparison is represented by *si*:

Dixol Munno a Oria: ¿cobdiçias allá ir?  
 Dixol a Munno Oria: yo si, mas que vivir *SOria* 158

## PART II

### THE PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH DE

27. Diez states that Latin offers no examples of the use of prepositions with the infinitive,<sup>1</sup> and that when so found in Romance the combination takes the place of the Latin gerund or gerundive. He finds in the scribes' Latin of the late Vulgar Latin period various interesting cases of the infinitive with preposition, of which the following are representative: *ad scribere tolli*, *cepit ad vendere*, *ad habitare aut laborare*, etc. These show an increasing usefulness of the infinitive, and forecast the conditions later prevailing in the Romance languages. As soon as the infinitive was considered capable of use with a preposition, its field could be extended almost indefinitely, restricted only by the limitations of the prepositions themselves. Diez further remarks that the preposition *de* had its meaning more weakened than any other preposition.<sup>2</sup> It was only a natural development when the infinitive took the place of a noun in normal noun locutions with *de*, as when, instead of saying *vengo de Madrid* they said *vengo de ver Madrid*. These instances are numerous, but undoubtedly the *de*-type most influential on the later growth of infinitive usefulness was the *de* in the sense of *concerning*, *about*, *in the matter of*, *relative to*, called by Meyer-Lübke the *relative de*.<sup>3</sup> This is the particular sense of *de* that shows itself weakened to such a point that it is sometimes almost impossible to see even a vestige of its original meaning left. But in most doubtful instances the rendition of *de* by one of the above approximate equivalents will not be

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 201. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 254, 299-303 (*de*).

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 234. <sup>3</sup> *Gram.* III, § 340.



usar.

This verb, with infinitive, is employed as an emphatic substitute for the imperfect indicative, though by no means currently. The very common English equivalent is to be remarked: *a aquella iglesia misma usaua el rey . . . de yr a maytines*, *Cron 490a22* (to that very church the king used . . . to go to matins). The *de*-infinitive is the regular construction with *usar*, though those with *a* and without preposition occur. Again the *Crónica* is unique in offering examples.

uso de fazer aquestas cosas *Cron 123a29*  
 usaua mucho de tirar de ballesta *Cron 140a10*  
 non usaua de ser a judgar nin dar juyzios *Cron 387b21*  
 . . . que usasse y de fazer ell officio *Cron 544b21*  
 usauan de uenir guerrear a Toledo *Cron 707a19*

#### THE DE-INFINITIVE AS OBJECT OF VERB LOCUTIONS

33. There is little difference in the function of the infinitive in this section and in the last, i.e. the infinitive is a *de*-object in both cases. There is, however, the essential difference that in the citations of this section the infinitive cannot be construed with any single verb. The infinitive must be considered as the object of the whole verb locution, as otherwise violence would be done to the evident sense of the passages. A good illustration is at hand in *auer en voluntad de*, where the *en voluntad* makes all the difference between the *necessity* or *possibility* commonly associated with *auer de*, and the *will* clearly present in *auer en voluntad de*. Another type in this group is illustrated by *touo por meior de morir que non fazer ninguna destas cosas*, *Cron 38a13*, where the sense is *to consider . . . as . . .*. Of this type may be mentioned *escoger por meior*, *fallar por bien*, *judgar por guisado*, *tener guisado*, *tener por mal*, *tener por meior*, etc. In such instances as *non lo tengo por seso averes tan granados*, *meterlo a aventura*, *Alix 908*, *meterlo* is in apposition with the *lo* preceding. If this *lo* were omitted, *meterlo* would be the object of *tengo por seso*.

Various paraphrases of simple verb senses are likewise noted in this group, e.g. *auer en uso* for *usar*, *auer en costumbre* and *auer por costumbre* for *ser acostumbrado*, etc. On the whole, the locutions of this section serve a considerable range of thought, and, because of their ease of adaptation to individual needs, they assist the language toward a greatly increased flexibility of expression. It is a conspicuous fact that the prose *Crónica* is the only one of these early texts yielding examples of their use with *de*-infinitive.

#### **auer a coraçon.**

This is the most frequent locution of its class. *Coraçon* is also associated with *tener*, *leuar* and *meter*; see below. The *lo* of *todos lo auien a coraçon de se matar*, Cron 288a13, being the object of *auien*, the infinitive is again in apposition with the object: see paragraph above.

. . . que yo auia tan a coraçon de guardar Cron 39b54  
 auiendo muy a coraçon de non dexas ningunos Cron 69a33  
 tanto auie a coraçon de se yr pora Roma Cron 129a18  
 ouo muy mas a coraçon de yr contra el Cron 132a24  
 auie much a coraçon de seruir a so tio Cron 107b33  
 auiendo muy a coraçon de acrescentar . . . el regno Cron  
 255a26  
 auiendo todos a coraçon de seruir a Dios . . . Cron 325a16

Also: Cron 59a33, 171a13, 190b50, 245a18, 288a13, 325a16, 341a19, 369a34, 474a39.

#### **auer en costumbre.**

auien . . . en costumbre de dexas los cabellos crecer Cron  
 90a13  
 auie en costumbre desquel nacieran baruas de las no traer  
 Cron 129b54  
 auie en costumbre de escoier oras sennaladas Cron 139a44  
 auie siempre en costumbre de los llamar tinnuela Cron 193b52  
 siempre auie el en costumbre de llamar a Ihesu Cristo Galileo  
 Cron 201a37  
 nunca ouo en costumbre de omillarse a ninguna mugier Cron  
 340b4

conspicuously out of place, e.g. in such expressions as *me duele de*, *me cale de*, *fermoso de*, *dulçe de*, *enpeçar de*, *pensar de*, etc. All uses taken together, the *de*-infinitive gained gradually in popular favor until it surpassed both the pure and the *a*-infinitives. Thus our texts yield about twenty verbs with *de*-infinitive subject, and forty with *de*-infinitive object, as well as adjective and noun constructions not found with the pure infinitive. It is especially significant that the *de*-infinitive could hold its own in the field of infinitive subjects and objects, since here were territories that would normally stand firm for the pure infinitive. It seems so much more natural to get to the objective of the action of the finite verb without introducing a comparatively foreign prepositional sense (*comienço dormir*, *meresco seer enperador*, *temia perder el reyno*). But the relative *de* was so fitting with many verbs (*pensar de*, *acordarse de*, *apresurarse de*, etc.), and *de* could so readily indicate the origin or the object with other verbs (considered by Meyer-Lübke the starting-point of the spread of *de*-objects, according to *Gram. III*, § 386) as with *començar*, *çesar* and the like — while the various senses of *de* were so delicately shaded one into another — that *de* came to be more and more pervasive in infinitive constructions where its use was far from traditional. Its sense was of course weakening all this time, since it could not be employed with such varied verbs if its force remained at all constant (e.g. *aborrecien de oyr hablar*... Cron 135b36; *aprende de dar tu cuerpo a los omnes*, Cron 113a24; *assacaron de fazer un beuer*, Cron 30a45; *buscaron de echarlo*, Duelo 70, etc.). It came, then, to be more or less a handle of the infinitive that could be utilized with most verbs taking an infinitive object. There were some that remained true to the pure infinitive, such as the modal auxiliaries and the members of the *fazer* group, because here the action of the infinitive was quite immediate to the action of the conjugated verb, but most of the other verbs taking the pure infinitive object felt the encroachment of the *de*-infinitive. The special group of *de*-infinitive objects with verb phrases of the type *tener en*



*coraçon*, *auer en uso*, *escoger por meior*, etc. are of interest, as they form a considerable body of useful expressions in which the *de*-infinitive has largely departed from its traditional *relative* sense, and successfully invaded a pure infinitive field. It is significant that these expressions are noted only in the *Crónica*, i.e. that in the period between the *Cid* and the *Crónica* the use of the *de*-infinitive had rapidly increased. In this group, the action of the infinitive was not felt as immediate to that of the main verb, and the infinitive needed the slightly introductory force of the *de* (*no tenie en coraçon de numqua tornar*, Cron 39b36; *ouieron et tomaron los cristianos en uso de dezir* . . . Cron 361a3).

Other functions of the *de*-infinitive are found coming from traditional senses of the preposition. Thus the *de*-infinitive may indicate *direction from* (*venir de*, *tornarse de*, *despertar de*, *leuantarse de*, etc.), the *cause* of an action (*alabarse de*, *enojarse de*, *castigarse de*, etc.), and the *means* or *manner* of an action (*adobar de*, *gozarse de*, etc.) Its use with adjectives and nouns, though not traditional, becomes one of its important functions (*graue de uencer*, Cron 161b21; *fermosa de catar*, Cron 146b38; *tiempo de casar*, Cron 22a34; *seso de fablar*, Mil 691, etc.). All these constructions will be considered later.

#### THE *DE*-INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT WITH *SER* AND AN ADJECTIVE OR ADVERB

28. It is an interesting fact that Otto<sup>1</sup> finds no cases of the *de*-infinitive acting as the subject of a verb in Camões. This would indicate that the field of the *de*-infinitive had not been extended so far in Portuguese as in Spanish, though the discrepancy in period and school prevents accurate comparison. In Old Spanish this construction is indeed quite common, though only one case occurs in the *Cid* (*cómo vos plaze de far*, *Cid* 670). The *Crónica* is particularly prolific in examples of the *de*-infinitive as subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Port. Inf.*, § 23.

Under the immediate class with *ser* and an adjective or adverb, the following examples may be cited:

- Luengo serie de todo quanto que vio contar *Aliz* 2471  
 malo es de guardar *SDom* 51  
 De dar las tres meaias non li será pesado *SMill* 2  
 A tal sennor es bueno de servir e rogar *SMill* 445  
 serie mejor de llegar mayor poder *Cron* 71b32  
 era mejor de salir et matar se con ellos que no morir de sed  
*Cron* 75a21  
 a aquellos bien les estaua de no yr en huestas *Cron* 77a52  
 non era derecho de tornar *Cron* 180b46  
 non serie derecho de ge lo tener por fuerça *Cron* 419a7  
 mas guisado era de yr ell *Cron* 437a7  
 era bien de oyr lo que su hermano lo enuiaua dezir *Cron* 507a24  
 guisado es de fincar uos assy *Cron* 609a30  
 era mejor de yr su carrera *Cron* 695b29  
 mejor era de lo acabar *Cron* 747b7  
 serie guisado de yr alla algunos *Cron* 751a32

#### THE DE-INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT WITH *SER* AND SUBSTANTIVE

29. The subgrouping of instances of the *de*-infinitive as subject into those used with *ser* and an adjective or adverb, and those with *ser* and a substantive, is for convenience of comparison with Otto's work for the Portuguese rather than for any value that such grammatical subtleties may be fancied to have. The difference is negligible between *guisado es de fincar*, *Cron* 609a30, and *sera guisada cosa de no caer*, *Cron* 74a18, as far as concerns the function of the infinitive. The *Crónica* again yields a great majority of cases of *de*-infinitive as subject.

- Asaz es fiera pena . . . de nunca veyer omne la cara de nuestro  
 Señor *Aliz* 2399  
 De fablarvos en ellas serie grant prolixidat,  
 De tornar en el bispo es nuestra voluntat *SMill* 72  
 Vistió el omne bueno los pannos del altar,  
 Con los quales es ley de la missa cantar *SMill* 179

- era seso de guardar su onra *Cron* 30a7  
 es graue cosa de se mudar lo que uiene por natura *Cron* 124b14  
 es cosa much usada . . . de maldezir los maestros *Cron* 143a50  
 ¿que prouecho nos es de auer uencido los barbaros? *Cron* 184a33  
 es culpa de la negar a los que lo piden *Cron* 186a6  
 nin les serie loor nin prez . . . de tornar a sus casas *Cron* 285b38  
 mayor prez nos sera de mouer hueste et tomar armas *Cron* 286a16  
 Graue cosa fue all arçobispo de uenir *Cron* 291a19  
 Costumbre era . . . de criar se los donzelles et las donzellas fijos de los altos omnes *Cron* 307b30  
 fue su conseio . . . de dexarse de todas las cosas *Cron* 586b18  
 muy noble cosa era de veerle sus fijas *Cron* 639b8  
 commo es costumbre de fazer *Cron* 641a14  
 es rrason . . . de gelo razonar omne *Cron* 728a50  
 Manera es de los estoriadores . . . de emendar sienpre en las razones pasadas *Cron* 737a15  
 non serie mas su pro de alli estar *Cron* 739a21  
 non era marauilla de auer ende grant pesar *Cron* 748a33  
 non era mesura de partir *Cron* 751a29  
 grant cosa serie de lo poder acabar *Cron* 766b24

#### THE DE-INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT WITH THE IMPERSONAL VERBS

30. The *de*-infinitive as subject is considerably more frequent than the pure infinitive with the impersonal verbs (cf. §12 above). Among the verbs taking both the pure and the *de*-infinitive as subject are noted *abondar*, *caer*, *conuenir*, *per-tenesçer*, *plazer* and *semeiar*. Impersonal constructions of the type *es forzoso*, *es posible*, are treated in §28 under *ser* and an adjective or adverb. These expressions are comparatively rare, with the exception of *es bueno*, *es bien*, *es meior*, *es malo*, and *es guisado*. Although the *Crónica* furnishes most of the available instances of the *de*-infinitive with impersonal verbs, the other texts employ this construction from time to time.

**ser mester and menester.**

non me es mester de yr a los moros *Cron* 512a44  
 quando fuer mester de lo departir *Cron* 577a25  
 cosas que mester les fueren de comer et de beuer et de albergue  
*Cron* 686a27  
 menester les era de conseio tomar *Aliz* 1953

**tener pro.**

¿ que pro te tiene de te matar assi? *Cron* 442a40

**venir (u-).**

An interesting group of locutions having *de*-infinitive subject was based on *venir* as a common element. These locutions have notably diverse senses according to the noun used with *venir*. *Coraçon* is particularly frequent, as it is likewise in related object locutions with *tener* and *auer* (*ouo muy mas a coraçon de yr contra el*, *Cron* 132a24). Neither the pure infinitive nor any preposition other than *de* is noted with *venir* in this impersonal construction.

**venir a coraçon.**

Vinol a corazon do se sedie un dia  
 Al apostolo de Espanna de ir en romeria *Mil* 184  
 le ueno a coraçon de complirlo *Cron* 662a48  
 ueno a coraçon a un conde . . . de yr en romeria *Cron* 412a16  
 uenoles a coraçon a essos de Salamanca de mouer contienda  
 contral rey *Cron* 673a24

**venir en coraçon.**

Vinoli adesora al rey en coraçon  
 de dar el monasterio al preçioso varon *SDom* 200

**venir a punto.**

sy les vino a punto de fablar en aquella misma razon *Cron*  
 737a20

**venir a talent.**

uenol . . . a talent de fazer un ospital *Cron* 686a11

**venir en vision.**

En vision li ujno de fer vn ministerio *SDom* 267

**venir a voluntat.**

nin les vernie a uoluntat de lo comedir *Cron* 607b50

## THE DE-INFINITIVE INDICATES SEPARATION

36. The function of the preposition illustrated in this section is one most natural to *de*. It is not necessary to look for the subtle distinctions found in the *relative de*, or in the *de* of *cause* and *means*. In determining the members of this group, the simple test of reading the context with *de* in the sense of *from* may be applied. Thus the individual verbs vary all the way from *partir(se)*, with which the *de* of *separation* is quite literal and objective, to *curiar* and *guardar*, where a figurative interpretation may be necessary, although the original concept is clearly present. There is nearly always some sense of motion, objective or subjective, to be felt in these locutions, the best examples of this type of verb being *partir(se)*, *desuiarse*, *levantarse*, *rancar*, *tornar*, *venir*. Less evident, though implied, motion appears in *despertar*, *guardar*, *tenerse*, and *escusar*. As a class, the verbs of *separation* are stronger and more frequent than those of *cause* or *means*.

**curiar.**

Bien te curieste, madre, de non lo fazer *Loor* 20  
 dios curie mis amigos de prender tal mandado *Aliz* 221

**despertar.**

The only instance of *despertar* with the *de* of *separation* employs the infinitive as a noun.

desperto del dormir *Cron* 340b49

**detardarse.**

nos detardan de adobasse essas yentes cristianas *Cid* 1700

**desuiarse.**

The identical use of noun and infinitive with the *de* of *separation* is to be remarked in this passage:

començo a desuiarse de la paz de los romanos de non la querer  
 tener ni auerla con ellos *Cron* 234a20

**escusar(se).**

This verb appears both as transitive and reflexive.



es todo de sufrir *SOria* 175  
 Non era pora nos de seer espendido *Duelo* 120  
 son de servir e onrrar *SMill* 448  
 non era cosa de encobrir *Mil* 511  
 Esta razon, sennora, tuia es de veer *Mil* 786

Other examples of the *de*-infinitive with *ser* will be found in: *Sac* 163; *Loor* 119; *Sig* 10, 69; *Mil* 141, 488, 601, 703, 867; *SDom* 153, 177, 570; *SMill* 109, 150, 487; *Alix* 1457, 1732, 2094, 2098, 2467, 2624, etc.

#### THE *DE*-INFINITIVE OBJECT AND THE RELATIVE *DE*

32. Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> shows the union of the infinitive object with the conjugated verb by means of the preposition *de* to have been of Romance creation, yet to date back to that formative period, the processes of which to a large extent are still shrouded in conjecture. He considers the point of departure, from which the use of *de* spread to numerous verbs not normally taking it according to their sense, to have been with those verbs that could equally well take the *de* of *origin* or of *object*, such as *començar* and *çesar*. Another group assisting in the spread of *de* was that of verbs taking the indirect object of the person, and the *de*-infinitive object of the thing, such as *prometer*, *ordenar*, etc. It should be emphasized, however, that the most important cause of the rapid increase in the use of *de* was the fact that its sense permitted such weakening as to make it eventually serve more as a slightly significant introductory particle to the infinitive than as a real entity in the meaning of the sentence. And the sense of *de* that permitted such weakening was the *relative de* (i.e., *relative to*, *concerning*, *about*, *in the matter of*), that could be used so naturally with a large number of verbs (*pensar de*, *asmar de*, *aventurarse de*, *dubdar de*, etc.). Even with the verbs meaning *to begin* and *to cease*, this *relative de* was quite appropriate (*enpeçar de falar*, *to begin in the matter of speaking*). It was

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 386.

such a delicate prepositional sense that it crept inconspicuously into use with numerous verbs not readily attracting the *de* of origin, etc. Even with verbs normally taking the *de* of cause or means it is sometimes possible to consider the relative *de* as operative (*gozarse de*, to enjoy oneself *by means of*, *because of*, or *in the matter of* something). This shows the problem to be more subtle than profitable. The important fact is that this *de*-construction, by reason of its variously useful connotations, came to replace the pure infinitive to a very large extent, and even to encroach on the territory of the *a*-infinitive normally indicating goal. This was particularly true of the verb Object class, where it was quite possible to view the relation of infinitive to verb in several manners, and where the prepositional construction was indeed a substitute for the object relation rather than that relation itself. Thus in the object group at least the following verbs are found with both *de* and *a*: *aprender*, *cobdiçar*, *començar*, *cometer*, *conpeçar*, *dexar*, *enpeçar*, *esforçar(se)*, *mereçer*, *pensar* and *usar*. The *a* usually indicates the place or goal of the action, i.e. *place at which* or *to which* (*esforçarse a*, *començar a*, etc.), while the *de*, as explained above, is prevalingly the relative *de*. Of these two prepositions *de* was used much more generally than *a* in the object group, but after this period, in which analogy operated most freely in causing various prepositions to be tried out with a given verb, the genius of the individual verb asserted itself in the fixing of its prepositional construction: *a* with *començar*, *en* with *pensar*, the pure infinitive with *mereçer*, *de* with *dexar* in the sense of *to cease*, etc. It should also be noted below that the relative *de*-infinitive is equally at home with transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs, and that with the transitives and intransitives it sometimes causes an approach to the object relation (cf. *quedar*, *fallecer*, *membrarse*, etc.) The verbs cited below are, however, for the most part transitive.

For a discussion of infinitive locutions of the type *auer a coração de*, *auer en costumbre de*, *auer por costumbre de*, *auer en uso de*, *escoger por meior de*, etc., see § 27 and § 33.

Meyer-Lübke cites an instance from *SMill* 105<sup>1</sup> in which

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 389.

he construes the *de*-infinitive as object of *querer*, thus showing the invasion of the territory of the pure infinitive object by the prepositional construction: *sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria, de venir solitario*. This instance is, however, only one of a number of such cases that are rather to be taken as the infinitive in apposition with a noun or pronoun (in this case *lo*), in which group it is by no means rare to find *de* introducing the infinitive. *Querer* does, however, take a real *de*-object in *Cron* 450b37: *quiso por su merced de mostrar esta grand coyta por quien era.*

#### **aborrecer.**

espantauanse todos et aborrecien de oyr fablar de tan estranno  
comer *Cron* 135b36

#### **acabar.**

The first citation below brings out more clearly than usual the *relative de* with infinitive.

el templo fue acabado de fazer et consagrado *Cron* 107a33  
ca tantos acabo de ueuir quando el fino *Cron* 645b2  
aquel anno acabo de cercar toda la uilla *Cron* 171a41

#### **acordar(se).**

This verb, generally reflexive, is also noted with *a-*, *por-* and *en-*infinitives. The *Crónica*, the only text offering examples, has *de* most currently.

acordaron los senadores . . . de poblar de cabo a Carthago  
*Cron* 53a31  
acordaron de dar algunos *Cron* 87a42  
acordaron de enuiarla pedir *Cron* 469b31  
acordaron de yrse meter en sus manos *Cron* 368b45  
auian acordado de lo fazer *Cron* 729b43

Also: *Cron* 477a5, 549a17, 573a31, 729b32.

#### *Reflexive:*

acordaron se de estar en su uilla *Cron* 288b51  
acordose de traer pleytesia con el rey *Cron* 746a34  
acordaronse todos los mas de yrse con la infante et non finca  
en la villa *Cron* 509b26

Also: *Cron* 754b39, 580a40.

**aprender.**

This verb was also used with the *a*-infinitive.

aprende de dar tu cuerpo a los omnes *Cron* 113a24

**apressurar.**

*Apressurarse* takes the *a*-infinitive as well.

apressuro por ende de sacarle de entre las maldades de este mundo *Cron* 667b36

**asmar.**

The pure infinitive is also noted with *asmar*, though the construction with *de* is the more frequent. Most of our texts yield examples, with the notable exception of the *Cid*.

Asmaron de levarla *SMill* 349

Asmaron de alzarse, meter toda mission *SMill* 397

Asmó de ir a elli *Mil* 636

asmo de ser clerigo, sauer bonas façañas *SDom* 34

asmo de fer se monge e fer obediência *SDom* 81

asmo de apartarse en aquel logarejo *Alex* 923

auia asmado de lidiando morir *Alex* 1398

asmo de matar su fijo *Cron* 454a19

aiuen asmado de desonrrar sus mugeres *Cron* 608b42

asmo de las leuar de ally a otro lugar *Cron* 609b3

Also: *SMill* 12; *SDom* 263; *Alex* 721, 1873, 1925.

**assacar.**

sobresto assacaron de fazer un beuer de trigo cocho *Cron* 30a45

assacaron de fazer unos estrumentos de fierro *Cron* 695a33

**atreuerse.**

The pure, *a*- and *en*-infinitives are found with *atreuerse*.

no se atreuie de lidiar contra ellos *Cron* 239b51

atrouieron se de yr lidiar *Cron* 314b38

non se atreuiendo de atenderle alli *Cron* 357b14

nunca se atreuio de gelo dezir *Cron* 628b37

Other examples of *començar* with *de*-infinitive will be found in *Cron* 10b33, 12b39, 13a31.51, 13b24, 27b12, 192b47, 165a8, 231a34, 233a26, 265b3, 270b29, 285b2.8.31, 288a33, 289b14, 290b27, 291a32, 291b41, 304a42, 304b38, 306b9.42, 309b24, 315b49, 322b31, 323b6, 324b32, 327a2, 328a48, 335b5, 340b32, 341a4, 341b36, 349a31, 359a47, 360b44, 391b42, 397b24, etc.

#### **cometer.**

Examples of *cometer* with infinitive are noted in the *Crónica* only. The *a*-infinitive is used in *Cron* 72a2: *muy grand miedo deuie auer de cometer a passar la*.

- ni salie ninguno a ellos a cometer de ferir *Cron* 75b5
- cometiol de lidiar *Cron* 81a11
- por que . . . non se atrouiesse a cometer de fazer otro ta fecho *Cron* 86a45
- como quisiesse cometer de yr *Cron* 687a31
- cometieron de combatir la çipdad et lidiarla muy de rexo *Cron* 704b43
- non osauan cometer de se meter a tan grant peligro *Cron* 738a33
- . . . fuesen cometer de pasar por do estauan siete *Cron* 751b39

#### **conpeçar (com-).**

With the exception of two instances in the *Alixandre*, the *Cid* is the only text offering examples of *conpeçar* with the *de*-infinitive. The *a*-infinitive is also noted with *conpeçar*. This verb is evidently a fusion of *començar* and *enpeçar*,<sup>1</sup> infrequent even in this period since only four examples are at hand outside of the *Cid*. The pure infinitive is not found with *conpeçar* at all.

- conpeçó de espolonar *Cid* 705
- conpeçaron de llorar *Cid* 856
- conpeçós de alegrar *Cid* 1083
- conpeçó de guerrear *Cid* 1090
- conpeçós de pagar *Cid* 1201
- conpeço de beuer *Alix* 2578
- conpeço de clamar *Alix* 2184
- conpeçó de fablar *Cid* 1114, 1456, 3306

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 161, [2 and *Cid* II, *conpeçar*.

**contender.**

*Por-* and *en-*infinitives are also found with *contender*.

... siempre contiene de valer a cuitados,  
 Gobernar los mezquinos, revocar los errados,  
 Por tierras e por mares fer miraclos granados *Mil* 623

**cuydar.**

The regular infinitive construction of *cuydar* is without preposition. The use of *de* does not perceptibly change the sense of the locution. With *en*, the meaning becomes rather *to think about, to consider*: *estauan cuydando en escoger rey entressi*, *Cron* 230a30.

mas yo non lo afirmo, que cuydo de mentir *Alix* 2271

**cumplir.**

The *de-*infinitive is more often used as subject with impersonal *cumplir*.

algunas cosas que a ellos non cumplan de leuarlas *Cron* 637a22

**dar.**

The more frequent prepositional construction of *dar* is discussed under *dar a*, § 44. *De* occurs in very few instances, and these of slightly doubtful infinitive function. The two locutions noted with *de* in our texts are *dar de comer* and *dar de uestir*, both from the *Crónica*. The fact that *a* appears also with *comer* and *uestir* in approximately the same sense, though the function of the preposition is so different, indicates that the infinitive is to be taken as verb rather than as noun (*dauan a comer et a uestir*, *Cron* 642a40), since *a* regularly introduces a verbal infinitive expressing goal or purpose. A very similar situation is seen in *auer* and *ser* taking *de* and *a* with infinitive: *ouola a sacar*, *SDom* 416; *ouo de fablar*, *Alix* 363; *era a mouer*, *SDom* 692, etc. That *beber* may be used as a noun (here without preposition) is indicated by: *Diol beber*, *Loor* 73.

The customary *de* does not govern the infinitive in *Mil* 638, but is probably omitted for metrical reasons because of the proximity of *de vos*: *Ganar de vos empresto avria grant deseo.*

**desuergonçamiento.**

este desuergonçamiento de cantar *Cron* 122a41

**dia.**

Oy es dia de paresçer *Duelo* 190

Quando vino el dia de las bodas correr *Mil* 336

**duelo.**

con duelo de las perder *Cron* 93b32

**edad.**

a edad de seer caualleros *Cron* 346b44

en edad de casar et de fazer heredero *Cron* 654b20

**enoio.**

con enoio de yazer *Cron* 116a24

**entencion.**

a entencion de fincar el solo *Cron* 65b15

**escuela.**

escuela de cantar e leer *Mil* 354

**fecho.**

en fecho de armas et de caualgar *Cron* 93a26

**feuza.**

Ovieron grant feuza de seer allumnados *SMil* 323

**fijas.**

The *futurity* of the *de*-infinitive in *fijas de casar*, *Cid* 2082, is indicated by Menéndez Pidal's rendering of the phrase by *casaderas* (*marriageable*).

**gana.**

Three instances of *gana* with *de*-infinitive come from the *Milagros*.

por gana de aver *Mil* 239

Prísol al iudezno de comulgar grant gana *Mil* 356

con gana de en grant preçio sobir *Mil* 741

ia.

con guisa de mouer se daquel logar *Cron* 36b31

bre.

Spiritu Sancto lumbre de confortar *SOria* 1

iera.

una manera de fazer duelo *Cron* 55a41

gua.

por mingua de escreuir los *Cron* 87b20

ies.

The active force of the infinitive in the first citation below  
is to be noted.

omnes . . . de bien razonar *Cron* 691a9

omnes de prestar *Cron* 536b30, 773b20

The infinitive has an object in two out of the three following  
citations of *(h)ora* with dependent infinitive.

Venida es la hora de prender la soldada *Mil* 136

agora somos en ora de rancar *Duelo* 89

en hora estaba de la alma echar *Duelo* 158

amiento.

*fazer paramiento* is used as a variant for *parar*.

fizieron paramjento de prouar este omne *SDom* 94

or (-v-).

*auer pavor* and *auer miedo* are variants for *temer* and *dubdar*.

pavor avria de seer engannado *Mil* 641

Ouo pavor el preso de seer enbargado *SDom* 711

glo.

sin peligro de se perder por tempestad *Cron* 48b20

ssa.

la priessa de se meter en ellas *Cron* 638a20



**razon.**

This noun is most useful in prepositional phrases.

- con razon de yr *Cron* 67a26
- por razon de lidiar *Cron* 70b16
- por razon de conquerilla *Cron* 27b25
- en auer razon de non seer y *Cron* 77b13

**sabor.**

*Auer sabor*<sup>1</sup> is a variant for a simple verb of desire: *desear*, *gustar*. *Sabor* is also notable in composed prepositional phrases.

- Avien . . . sabor de deportar *Mil* 355
- Todos avien sabor de ferlis mal treveio *Mil* 893
- de comer ovo copdiçia o sabor *Duelo* 64
- muy grand sabor dacaballe *Cron* 28a2
- por sabor de la acabar *Cron* 28a7
- a sabor de cavalgar *Cid* 1190
- sabor han de casar con sus fijas *Cid* 1902
- Sabor abriedes de seer e de comer en el palacio *Cid* 2208
- por sabor que avía de algùn moro matar *Cid* 2372
- sabor a de velar en essa santidad *Cid* 3056

**semeiança.**

- e por fazer su semeiança de recibir bien . . . a Ponpeyo *Cron* 81b9

**tiempo.**

- Non vino tiempo aun de aqui habitar *SOria* 102
- Despues verná el tiempo de la siella cobrar *SOria* 102
- tiempo de regnar *Cron* 16b45
- tiempo de casar *Cron* 22a34

**uagar.**

The locution *auer uagar de* is approximately equivalent to the rare impersonal verb, *uagar*.

- ouieron uagar de enuiar por los otros *Cron* 45b48

**uso.**

- el uso de llamar dinero a toda moneda *Cron* 99a34

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, p. 834.

THE *de*-INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES

39. The genitive of the gerund, as used with adjectives in Latin, was replaced by the infinitive in the Romance Languages: *Cupidus dominandi*; *muy cobdicioso de sennorear*, Cron 66b25. Diez<sup>1</sup> finds the infinitive with the adjective not non-existent in Latin, but in any case extremely rare. In Old Spanish the *relative de* (*in the matter of*, etc.) is regularly employed to introduce the infinitive dependent on an adjective: *acuciosos de uenir*, Cron 49a44; *buena es de catar*, Sac 190. In instances where the Romance infinitive replaces the ablative of the supine in Latin (*mirabile dictu*, *facilis cognitu*), the action is merely named without definite indication of active or passive sense: *Ligera de fazer*, Cron 420b11; *dulçes de veyer*, Alix 1616; *duro de traer*, Cron 129b1. If it is desired to define the action as passive, the auxiliary with the past participle is used: *merezien-tes erades de seer enforcados*, SMill 276; *mereçiente era de seer fostigado*, Mil 359. The *de*-infinitive depending on an adjective may of course on occasion have a subject or an object: *Yo non seria digna de veer tan grant gloria*, Soria 35; *duechas de comer los cuerpos muertos*, Cron 209b28; *ligera de mantenerla . . . un príncep*, Cron 692a27. The simple verb finds another circumlocution in the combination of *estar* or *ser* and adjective with *de*-infinitive: e.g. *estar cobdicioso* being a variant for *auer cobdiçia* and *cobdiçiar* with *de*-infinitive. A number of past participles are included with the adjectives below, when it is evident that their adjectival force is proportionate to their verbal force: *numqua fuera ninguno atreuudo de las cerrar*, Cron 102b28; *eran uagarosos e descuydados de fazer ninguna cosa*, Cron 49a45; *de lidiar comigo tu fuste osado*, Alix 1763. The adjective is also found taking the infinitive with *por*, *pora*, *para* and *en*, the first three prepositions expressing various degrees of the purpose element so easily read into the infinitive relation, while *en* has a *place* or *manner* value (compare English *ready to go*): *presto somos por conplir tu mandado*, Alix

<sup>1</sup> Diez, *Gram.* III, p. 216.

195; *nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera*, Alix 799; *acucioso pora regebir huespedes*, Cron 277a29; *En dar conseios malos era muy sabidor*, Mil 723.

### **adebdado.**

somos nos adebdados de amar a aquellos Cron 4a4

### **aguisado.**

(*Guisarse* is used currently with *de-*, *por-*, *pora-* and *para-* infinitives. *Aguisado* has the *por-* infinitive in *nos por defendernos somos mal aguisados*, Alix 873):

de vengar nuestra onta era bien aguisado Alix 416

non era aguisado de en fasienda entrar Alix 1279

Somos bien aguisados de tornar e fuyr Alix 1915

sy fuesen los escudos de fablar aguisados Alix 2181

Todas bien aguisadas de calzar e de vestir SOria 142

Also: Alix 2215; Mil 525.

### **apareiado (-j-).**

(It takes also the infinitives with *por* and *pora*).

apareiado era de obedesçerle et ayudarle Cron 648b8

de fer quanto mandares somos aparejados Alix 754

### **aspero.**

This is an excellent example of the Romance infinitive for the Latin supine. In phrases of this type the action is named without being defined as active or passive. The feeling, however, is often for a passive sense in transitive infinitives.

aspero de andar Cron 128a37

### **atreuudo.**

numqua fuera ninguno atreuudo de las cerrar Cron 102b28,  
124a24

### **brauo** (cf. *aspero* above):

ca era pauroso e brauo de passar SDom 229

**bueno** (cf. *aspero* above. *Bueno* also takes infinitive constructions with *por*, *pora* and *para*).

bueno de escriuir *SDom* 335

bien bueno de rezar *Mil* 262

buena de entender *Sac* 107

buena es de catar *Sac* 190

**ro** (cf. *aspero* above).

es muy cara de fazer *Cron* 619b25

**terero.**

This is a good example of the *relative de* with infinitive.

De exir de lazerio estaba bien çterero *SMil* 294

**ego.**

This may be taken as either a *relative* or *causal de*-infinitive.

tanto estan ciegos de non saber *Cron* 185a20

**erto** (cf. *certero* above).

çiertos de auer batalla *Cron* 759a40

çierto fuese de lo seer *Cron* 765a25

**obdicioso.**

The simple verb, *cobdiçar*, is replaced occasionally by *estar* or *ser cobdiçoso de*.

de tornar a elli estaban cobdiçiosos *Duelo* 65

muy cobdiciosos de auer el sennorio *Cron* 57b9

muy cobdicioso de sennorear *Cron* 66b25

**ontrario** (cf. *aspero* above).

era la gota contraria de sanar *SDom* 416

**lantero.**

De exir al torneo tu seras delantero *SMil* 287

**lectoso** (cf. *aspero* above).

muy sabroso et muy delectoso de comer et de beuer *Cron* 266b6

**recher o** (cf. *aspero* above).

muy derecheros de onrrar et de temer *Cron* 691a14

**desesperado.**

desesperados de meiorar en su fazienda *Cron* 552a15  
 son ya desesperados de nunca te poder sanar *Cron* 577a17  
 eran desesperados de poder passar tienpo nin de atender al rey  
*Cron* 586a36

**digno.**

This is another excellent example of the *aspero* type.

A Barraban pidieron digno de iustiçiar *Duelo* 72  
 El confessor glorioso, digno de adorar *SDom* 253  
 Yo non seria digna de veer tan grant gloria *SOria* 35

**du(e)cho.**

duechas de comer los cuerpos muertos *Cron* 209b28  
 no eran duchos de obedecer a ningun sennor estranno *Cron* 210b48

**dulçe (cf. *aspero* above).**

Los fillos e las fillas dulçes son de veyer *Aliz* 1616

**duro (cf. *aspero* above).**

duro de traer *Cron* 129b1

**enoiado.**

This participle of *enoiar* takes the *de*-infinitive of *cause* or *relation* in the three examples below.

enoiados eran de lo tomar *Cron* 727b17  
 enoiados eran de lo oyr et de loallo *Cron* 122b17  
 enoiados de uender catiuos *Cron* 136b2

**feduzado.**

de tornar meiorada feduzada bien era *SDom* 688

**fermoso (cf. *aspero* above).**

de paresçer fermosos *Aliz* 847, 970  
 fermosa de catar *Cron* 146b38

**feuzante.**

fueron bien feuzantes de ganar el rregnado *Aliz* 1143

erte (cf. *aspero* above. Although both noun and adjectives are used in this instance, the sense seems to permit construction with *seruir* with the adjectives).

semeiaua los esquiua et muy fuerte sennora de seruir Cron 260a33

raue [-v-] (cf. *aspero* above. *Graue* and *grieue* are among the few adjectives used frequently with *de*-infinitive).

graves de acordar SMill 475

tales que por a Orfeo de formar serien graves Alix 2117

graue de uencer Cron 161b21

graues de contar Cron 765b28

so: Cron 192b48, 619b1.

leue (All six examples of *grieue* with *de*-infinitive occur in the *Crónica*. *Graue* and *grieue* are in the category of *aspero* above).

serie muy grieue cosa de contar Cron 20a46

grieues son de fazer Cron 50a42

era grieue dacordar Cron 50a51

serien muy grieues de dezir Cron 272a20

serie . . . grieue de leuar Cron 506b23

eran . . . grieues de complir Cron 694b8

guisado (*Por*- and *pora*-infinitives are also found with *guisado*: *guisado pora recibir la su fe*, Cron 103a23).

guisados de lo fazer Cron 38a28

de ir somos guisados Cid 1060

De ir en romeria estaban mal guisados Mil 887

. . . guisado fuesse de uengar se dellos Cron 54a8

ligero (cf. *aspero* above).

fazese muy ligero de traer Cron 54b7

ligera de fazer Cron 420b11

ligero de tornarse dello Cron 451a4

The infinitive has subject and object: *non serie ligera de mantenerla et gouernarla un princep*, Cron 692a27

**tenudo.**

This analogical participle of *tener* is current only in the *Crónica*.

- por si sera tenudo de fazer iusticia Cron 142b33  
 tenudos somos de aguardarte et de te seruir Cron 447a29  
 tenudas egualmiente de uengar la sangre de sos maridos Cron  
 219a2  
 non fue tenudo de guardargela despues Cron 515a23  
 non era tenudo de guardar lo que pusiera con ellos Cron  
 587b30  
 fue tenudo del ayudar et guiar en todos sus fechos, et del adelan-  
 tar et puir en todas ondras Cron 771b41

**trabaioso** (cf. *aspero* above).

- tierra . . . trabaiosa de conquistar Cron 69b49

**vozero.**

This is a good example of the *relative de*-infinitive with adjectives.

- fue vozero de demandar los derechos Cron 157b39

## THE INFINITIVE WITH A

The *a*-infinitive is less varied, and presents less subtlety of sense and function than the *de*-infinitive. While *de* in its *relative* sense lost much of its original force and was extended to numerous verbs not normally taking a *relative* connection with the dependent infinitive, *a* preserved and strengthened its original force. It extended its use to a much larger number of verbs than those taking it in the earliest period of Spanish, yet *a* kept its sense intact. As shown by Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> *ad* in Latin expressed *proximity in space*. From this it came with verbs of motion to express *direction toward* an object. This concept in turn naturally broadened its usefulness to include the *goal* and even the *purpose* of an action. And here, indeed, are seen practically all the elements of the *a* with infinitive in

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 390. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 292-297.



Old Spanish, all developing naturally and easily out of the original concept of proximity. With transitive verbs, this idea of proximity generally explains satisfactorily the use of *a* with verbs normally taking the object infinitive. The presence of *de* or *a* is not at all natural to the expression of the object relation between infinitive and finite verb, since in fact the preposition breaks any real objectivity and substitutes for it an essentially distinct relation. Thus *començar* with *de-* or *a-*infinitive evidences a different point of view from that to be felt in the same verb with its pure infinitive object: to begin *in regard to*, *in the matter of* . . ., or to begin *at* . . . instead of to begin *it*. The class of verbs taking the object infinitive and coming to employ *a* with it, is much smaller than the group taking *de*. With intransitive verbs of motion *a* had an unrivalled function in indicating the *goal* of the motion (*andar*, *yr*, *cavalgar*, etc.). These verbs took the pure infinitive in the earliest period of the language, but it was not long before *a*, which was stronger and more explicit, surpassed the pure infinitive in most of this territory (*Issió a reçibirlas*, Mil 169; *movieron a lidiar*, Alix 532; *Vayamos posar*, Cid 1531, etc.). With reflexive verbs, and transitives having an object present, *a* also had a normal field of development, so that these classes, as well as the intransitives, are strongly represented in our texts (e.g. *darse* and *tomarse*, *ayudar* and *poner*, *a* indicating *goal*: *dieron se a guarir*, Alix 734; *ayudol . . . a armar*, Cron 341a45). A group rich in examples and offering a number of interesting problems to be taken up later is that of *auer* and *ser* with the *a*-infinitive.

An important fact concerning the development of the *a*-infinitive is that it followed closely the treatment of the pure infinitive in several of its uses. Both took the object-infinitive (if this somewhat inaccurate term can be applied to the *a*-infinitive with verbs like *començar*), both expressed *goal* and *purpose* with intransitives and reflexives. Likewise both were used with *auer* and *ser*, though with *auer* the later limitation of the pure infinitive to expression of *futurity* and the *a*-infinitive



to that of *necessity*, make the similarity less apparent. Noting, however, these facts for the pure and *a*-infinitives, Lachmund divided his treatise on the *Infinitiv im Altfranzösischen* into two chapters only: *I. Reiner Infinitiv (und Infinitiv mit à)*, and *II. Präpositionaler Infinitiv*. The pure and the *a*-infinitives are not the same, and cannot be adequately treated in the same section. Instead of being in harmony with each other in the early period of the language, they were rather inimical to each other. The *a*-infinitive was striving to win over the territory of its older and more primitive rival, and to a large extent succeeded in so doing, at least in those phases of the pure infinitive varying from *goal* to *purpose*. Hence the effort should be made to distinguish clearly between these two categories of infinitives rather than voluntarily to fuse them. And there were several real distinctions between them, of which the most important follow:

1. The infinitive as subject was quite frequent and varied when pure, while with *a* it was practically non-existent: *cuydar non es saber*, Alix 1728; *les conuinie a dexar de combater se*, Cron 71a23.

2. Most of the verbs taking the pure infinitive as object did not admit the *a*-infinitive, because the pure infinitive was felt to be the real object of the action with no admixture of other senses such as *goal* and *purpose* (cf. *querer*, *poder*, *mandar*, *fazer*, etc.): *fizolo quedar*, Alix 492; *Veol . . . morir*, Loor 78; *non lo osaua catar*, Alix 36.

3. With the intransitives of motion, the reflexives, etc., though the concept of *goal* was present in the pure infinitive, it was felt to be weak, while with the *a*-infinitive it was strong and merged more closely into that of *purpose*: *hir los hemos fferir*, Cid 1690; *vas a rescebir grant gloria*, Alix 2494; . . . *se ayuntassen adefender la fe*, Cron 449a46.

4. With the relative, interrogative, and comparative particles, the pure infinitive had a large field uninvaded by the *a*-construction: *non se sabien que fer*, Mil 396; *non sauemos do yr*, SDom 362.

5. The *temporal* use of *a*, coming from its earlier *place* significance, is unknown to the pure infinitive (see § 2, treating the infinitive as substantive): *al tirar de la lança*, Cid 3686; *Al salir de la missa*, Cid 2070.

#### THE A-INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT

40. Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> lists *conuenir* as the only verb in Spanish taking the *a*-infinitive as subject. From the evidence this seems to be true, inasmuch as with *conuenir* the real subject of the action is made an indirect object in the same manner as with the impersonals discussed under the pure and the *de*-infinitives (see § 9 and § 28), while the other verbs take the usual personal subject. It is evident that the preposition *a* was not so well suited to introducing the subject-infinitive as was *de*, since it could not weaken its sense sufficiently; i.e. it could always be felt as an integral part of the sentence, thus somewhat detracting from the prominence desired for the infinitive. Examples of *conuenir* with *a*-infinitive are not rare in the *Crónica*, but are not noted in any other of these texts.

. . . quel conuenie a auer priuança Cron 427b18  
 esto conuino a sser por la muerte de don Aluar Perez Cron 740a7  
 por fuerça les conuenie a recibir y danno Cron 762b25  
 uos conuiene desta guisa a uenir con armas Cron 67b6  
 les conuinie a dexar de combater se Cron 71a23  
 uos conuiene a fazer uuestra uida Cron 77a11  
 conuiene a saber Cron 482a27, 704a7, 716b4, 665a10

#### THE A-INFINITIVE AS OBJECT

41. The group of *a*-infinitives as object of the action includes about fifteen verbs, thus constituting a very much smaller group than the corresponding construction under *de*. The apparent reason for this is, as suggested above, that the force of *a* is persistent, while that of *de* is evanescent in such locutions. Thus, in the object group, with *començar*, *conpeçar*,

<sup>1</sup> Gram. III, § 340.



*empeçar* and *dexar* the locative sense of *a* is predominant (*place where*), while with *alcançar*, *cobdiçar*, *cometer*, *derrancar* and *esforçar* there is implied or expressed *motion toward* something (for examples, see individual verbs below).

Some verbs were strongly influenced to take the *a*-infinitive by the subtle, and usually indefinable, forces of analogy with other verbs to which the *a*-sense was entirely congruous. For instance, *deuer* is found with the *a*-infinitive, yet it would seem that this verb was so prevallyingly pure in its infinitive relations, that even the occasional use of the *a*-infinitive would have been thought undesirable. The sense and frequency of the verb itself would appear to exact an infinitive-object with no limitations rather than the same object limited by a preposition expressing *direction*, *goal*, or *place where*. It is of interest, however, to note these prepositional influences working one against the other for supremacy within a given field of expression, and the gradual success of one or another of them to the partial or complete suppression of the rest. Outside the object group with *a*, it will be seen that, along with a certain tendency to develop the *goal* element of *a* into that *purpose*, there is almost perfect harmony between verb and preposition (in the groups of intransitive verbs of motion, transitives, reflexives, *auer* and the like): *anda a furtar*, Alix 766; *se ayuntaron . . . a fazerle grandes cortes*, Cron 644a7; *esforçosse a fazelles quanto mal pudo*, Cron 30a37; . . . *quel ayudarie a auer Denia*, Cron 548a24; *ouola a sacar*, SDom 416.

#### **alcançar.**

alcanço ella muy bien a atargelo Cron 114a32

#### **aprender.**

This verb is also noted with *de*-infinitive.

seyendo grant apriesiera a leer cartas Cron 199a44

#### **cobdiçar.**

The pure, *a*-, *de*- and *por*-infinitives are found with *cobdiçar*.

cobdiçiaua mucho a ueer la su muerte Cron 429a2

**començar.**

The pure and *de*-infinitives were also used with *començar*. In the period of our texts the struggle between *de* and *a* for use in this locution was at its height. In the *Cid* there is no evidence of *de* with the infinitive depending on *començar*, but in the *Santo Domingo* and the *Alizandre*, *de* does appear not infrequently. In the *Crónica*, *de* is common, though it never occurs as often as *a*. In fact, in the same sentences the two appear side by side in the *Crónica* (see § 32, *començar*). This indicates that it was not a matter of very great moment to the writer whether *de* or *a* was used with *començar*, and that to him there was nothing incongruous even in using both of them together. Probably the ever-increasing popularity of the *de*-infinitive in its many uses accounts in part for its sharing in the *començar* construction with *a*. It will be remembered that the same rivalry existed between *de* and *a* with *comencier* in the Old French of the period:

- començo alabar por dexar el pedir *SDom* 107  
 començo arogar *SDom* 192  
 començo arogar lo avna grant dulçor *SDom* 391  
 començo allorar tan aturada mente *SDom* 392  
 Començo li vn monge . . . los sanctos exorzismos . . . aleer  
*SDom* 691  
 queria començar a reuerter su saña *Aliz* 197  
 començo el buen omne en su cuer a tornar *Aliz* 284  
 començo de alli las tierras todas a mesurar *Aliz* 286  
 començo a feryr . . . , derrocar . . . *Aliz* 561  
 Començaron . . . a luchar *Aliz* 573  
 El arbol que tenprano comiença a florecer *Aliz* 764  
 començol vn dicho malo a retraher *Aliz* 1044  
 començos a desfer *Aliz* 1139

Also: *Aliz* 174, 561, 573, 1180; *Cron* 4b40, 5a20, 6a50, etc.

**cometer.**

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *cometer*.

- muy grand miedo deuie auer de cometer a passar la *Cron* 72a2

**conpeçar.**

Three out of the four cases of *conpeçar* with *a*-infinitive come from the *Cid*. This verb is a compound of the two other verbs meaning *to begin*, *començar* and *enpeçar*, as discussed by Menéndez Pidal.<sup>1</sup> The preposition *de* is also noted with *conpeçar*, occurring eight times as compared with the four of *a*. This is contrary to the habits of other verbs of *beginning*, which affect the *locative a* more often than the *relative de*.

conpeço a dezir mucho villano prouerbio *Aliz* 1347

conpeçó mio Çid a dar a quien quiere prender so don *Cid* 2115

conpieçan a regebir lo que el Çid mandó *Cid* 2585

Essora les conpieçan a dar ifantes de Carrión *Cid* 2735

**deuer.**

The pure infinitive is exceptionally regular with *deuer* in these texts. It was remarked as a conspicuous fact under *deuer* with pure infinitive (see § 14), that *deuer* with *de*-infinitive does not occur in the *Cid*, Berceo's poems, or in the *Crónica*. The *a*-infinitive, however, is found with *deuer* in three instances from the *Crónica* (twice having *saber* as the dependent infinitive).

deuedes a saber que . . . *Cron* 453b17

Et uos deuedes a saber que . . . *Cron* 733a25

non es cosa que deua omne a creer *Cron* 739a27

**dexar.**

This verb occurs most often in Old Spanish with pure infinitive in the factitive sense already described in the *fazer* group (*to leave, to let*). With the prepositions *a, de* and *por*, quite a variation in sense is found in *dexar* and infinitive (*to cease, to leave off*). It was probably not the *de* of *separation* that was associated with *dexar*, but rather that same *dim relative de* so easy to utilize in numerous ways (*to leave off in regard to . . .*), since it was the *relative de* that permitted *a* frequently to be used in its place, while the *de* of *separation* or the *de* of *means* and *cause* stood for senses that *a* could not participate in.

<sup>1</sup> *Cid* I, § 161, [3.



Thus *a* is found with *dexar* and infinitive in six instances from the *Crónica*, the combination having the same sense as the *de*-locution. The *a* had apparently a *place where* relation at first, as it did with *començar*, etc. In one instance the pure infinitive is equivalent to the prepositional use: *por que veyen los unos a los otros caher por eso non dexauan su camino ener*, Alix 1091.

agora dexa la estoria a falar del Çid . . . et torna a contar del rey Cron 643b5

agora dexamos a falar desto . . . et diremos como al infante . . . acaescio Cron 725a18

dexa aqui la estoria a contar del infante . . . et torna a dezir del rey Cron 725b14

otros logares menores, cuyos nonbres dexamos a contar aqui Cron 736a40

dexemos . . . a falar destes . . . et digamos de lo que los moros fizieron Cron 754a10

de los que dexamos a contar Cron 242b14

*enpeçar* (em-).

The pure and *de*-infinitives also occur with *enpeçar*, though the construction with *a* is by far the most frequent. No instance of *enpeçar* with infinitive is noted in the *Cid*, but other texts offer it regularly. In the *Cid*, *conpeçar* and *començar* are used in its stead.

enpeço a mostrar que serie de grant prez Alix 7

enpeço a guerrear Alix 145

enpeçolos . . . a desordyr Alix 165

enpeçola . . . a lidiar Alix 202

enpeço a mandarse Greçia por vn señor Alix 229

est capitulo enpieçan arezar Sac 114

Empezaron . . . a sobir Soria 41

Empezolas . . . a seguir Soria 41

empezós a desprunar SMill 14

empieçe a contar Mil 47

Ante que empezasse a sobir ennas gradadas Mil 470

empezó a deçir Mil 476

Empezoli a dar de grandes palancadas Mil 478

Also: *Alix* 758, 943, 946, 963, 1478, 1556, 1896, 1962, 1978 (*ad*), 2278, 2552; *S Mill* 76, 196, 290, 295; *Mil* 380, 480, 548, 607.

### **ensennar.**

ensennauan las a usar de las armas *Cron* 219b48

ensenno los a seer mansos *Cron* 222a23

. . . quel ensennara a creer en la fe de Nostro Sennor Dios  
*Cron* 263b31

. . . agradeçer que me enseñeste las artes todas a entender  
*Alix* 38

### **entender.**

*En*-infinitive also occurs with *entender*.

entendien ya a fazer tuertos *Cron* 705a16

### **esforçar.**

This verb, more often used as a reflexive, takes *de*, *a* and *pora* with the infinitive.

. . . rentas ningunas pora esforçar a defenderse *Cron* 560b31

### **merescer.**

The constructions with *a* and *de* are rare, *merescer* normally taking the pure infinitive.

merescio a auer sennorio *Cron* 467b53

tales que merescan a ser pareios de condes *Cron* 622a35

### **penssar.**

See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 161, [3. There is only one example of the *a*-infinitive with *penssar*. The regular construction has *de*, with an occasional instance of the pure infinitive.

pienssan a deprunar *Cid* 1493

### **usar.**

The pure and *de*-infinitives are found with *usar*.

usaran los clerigos a ueuir en aquella guisa *Cron* 338a1

comenzaron a vsar a fazer grandes mortandades *Cron* 667a50

usaron lo a beuer algunos dias *Cron* 30a52

THE A-INFINITIVE INDICATES GOAL WITH INTRANSITIVE  
VERBS OF MOTION

42. No violence is done to the natural function of the preposition with these verbs (*place where, to which, etc.*), nor is it necessary to read below the surface to understand its sense. That the *a*-construction ran parallel with the pure infinitive in this particular group, and that it gradually superseded the latter, except with a small number of verbs that still maintained the older custom of taking the infinitive pure, has already been shown in § 21. The preposition is, however, much more flexible than might be supposed, since there are perceptible several different degrees of the concept called *goal* by the grammarians merging from time to time into that of *purpose*. It is weaker than the *purpose* expressed by *por*, *pora*, and *para*, yet it is undoubtedly a real and natural outgrowth of the original *goal* sense of *a*. There was sufficient virility in *a* to enable it on occasion to govern its infinitive with little or no dependence on an individual verb (i.e. in clausal dependence): *iban a la iglesia a la missa oir*, Sac 285; *Fue a Sancto Domingo amerced li clamar*, SDom 607; *passo allent la sierra a agosto coger*, SDom 421; for instances pure, with *por*, *pora* and *para*, see pp. 75, 209, 233, 235. For such cases it was customary to allow *por*, *pora* or *para* to take the infinitive because these at all times expressed *purpose*, whether depending on a single verb or a clause. This delicate fusion of *goal* and *purpose* in the *a*-infinitive with the verbs of motion listed below is to be felt rather than proved for individual instances.

As in other constructions where the pure and *a*-infinitives ran more or less parallel, the *a* appears in a proportionately greater number of cases with verbs of motion in the *Crónica* than in the poetry of the period, both because of the tendency of poetry to cling to traditional constructions and because of the lateness of the *Crónica* in the period concerned. For further discussion of the *a*-infinitive, see *yr* below.

**adelinar.**

adelinan a posar *Cid* 2857



iranse a perder *Sig* 10  
 non iria afurtar *SDom* 427  
 e nos yr a lidiar *Aliz* 454  
 e yr los a feryr *Aliz* 585  
 de yr a cometer los *Aliz* 898  
 por nada tu non vayas con ellos a albergar *Aliz* 1670  
 van a cojer . . . las flores *Aliz* 1932  
 vas a rescebir grant gloria *Aliz* 2494  
 era ydo a casar a tierra de Bardulia *Cron* 359a10

A very interesting group of forms are those coming from the verb *ser*, found in Old Spanish in place of the etymologically correct forms from the perfect and allied tenses of *ire*. The same interchange of verbs meaning *to be* and *to go* is found in other languages, especially in the more popular strata of language (cf. the English vulgarism *I was to New York last week*). Unlike English, Spanish had the preposition *a* to express either *place where* or *to which* (English *at* and *to*), thus facilitating the confusion of the two constructions. The etymological forms from *ire*, especially in the singular, were phonologically weaker than those of *ser*, and this hastened the adoption of the *ser* forms. The intransitive sense of *yr* is maintained even when a reflexive pronoun is used to mark the spontaneity of an action: <sup>1</sup> *fuesse . . . a acorrerlos*, *Cron* 341b1.

fue a lidiar con el *Aliz* 157, 2198  
 alli se fue a coronar *Aliz* 182  
 fuelo a prender *Aliz* 524  
 fuel ya a dar pas *Aliz* 556  
 Fue a prender el canto Etor *Aliz* 571  
 fuelo a colpar *Aliz* 624  
 fuelo a feryr *Aliz* 626  
 fuelo a conjurar *Aliz* 1036  
 fuela a lidiar *Aliz* 1073  
 fue los a conbater *Aliz* 1102  
 fuelos a vesitar *Aliz* 1329  
 fuelo a ferir *Aliz* 2179  
 fuese a las espaldas del ad acostar *Aliz* 2210

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal: *Cid*, p. 341.

fuese . . . a folgar *Soria* 163  
 fueron se a esconder *Alix* 603  
 . . . que fuesen a almorçar *Alix* 1308  
 fueron se a colpar *Alix* 1372  
 fueron se a esconder *Alix* 2148  
 fuera a oyr missa *Cron* 349b13

Further examples of *yr* with *a*-infinitive are found in: *SDom* 359, 641; *Cron* 371b42, 414b4, 433a22, 439b25, 503b49, 504b43, 516b32, 518a32, 518b36, 521a50, 524b13, 580a47, 580b7.9, 583b29.

#### *issir.*

This compound of *yr* somewhat more frequently takes the pure infinitive than that with *a*. The construction with *por* is also found.

Issió a reçibirlas *Mil* 169

#### *llegar.*

Only the *Crónica* offers examples of *llegar* with *a*-infinitive. A figurative sense such as is found in the French *arriver à* with infinitive is noted in the passages below. Other infinitive constructions of *llegar* have *por*, *pora* or no preposition, with or without clausal dependence.

llego la caualleria de Castiella a seer de quinientos fasta seyçien-  
 tos caualleros fijosdalgo *Cron* 429a31  
 llegaron . . . a auer treynta annos *Cron* 113b5  
 llego a seer emperador *Cron* 157b43  
 . . . por llegar a contar *Cron* 681b32

#### *mouer.*

The intransitive use of *mouer* with *a*-infinitive is limited to one passage. The transitive and reflexive forms also take *a*. Infinitives pure and with *pora* are likewise noted with *mouer*.

de nuevo mouieron a lidiar *Alix* 532

#### *pas(s)ar.*

The pure and *pora*-infinitives are also noted with *passar*.

quisieron passar a uengarle *Cron* 16b38  
 pasaran a conquistar a Francia *Cron* 64a25  
 passa a contar de la reyna *Cron* 715a28  
 pasa agora a contar de commo priso a Cordoua *Cron* 729a51

**puiar.**

The normal construction is with *a*-infinitive. *Por* also occurs.

puio este Sertorio a auer muchas yentes *Cron* 55b20  
 puio a seer omne de grand guisa *Cron* 82a45

**salir.**

This is one of the more current verbs of motion, taking the pure infinitive as well as that with *a*, *por* and *pora*. It occurs most commonly in the locution *salir a rezebir*, of which about thirty cases are found in these few texts. Without *rezebir*, *salir* is also noted not infrequently, but unquestionably this is its most favored locution. It may or may not take the preposition *a* with *rezebir*. The majority of the instances with *a* come from the *Crónica*.

Without *rezebir*:

Salleron a consellarse *Aliz* 1592  
 ... que saliessen ellos otrossi a andar a cada parte *Cron*  
 438a35  
 salgamos a lidiar con ellos *Cron* 500a16  
 ... que saliessen todos a aguardar su senna *Cron* 506a15  
 querien salir a lidiar *Cron* 527b24

Also: *Cron* 25a1, 30a11, 32b2, 63b40, 317b37, 529b37, 530b8, 558b22; *Aliz* 1591, 1622.

With *rezebir*:

a rezebirlos sali6 *Cid* 1917  
 sali6los a rezebir *Cid* 2882  
 a rezebirlos sale *Cid* 2886  
 sallola a rrezebir *Aliz* 1859  
 saliolo a recebir *Cron* 141b27  
 salieron lo a recebir muy onradamientre *Cron* 170b27  
 saliol a recebir *Cron* 318a40  
 saliolos a recebir *Cron* 342b47

Also: *Cron* 359b24, 368b28, 375a36.38, 409b40, 418b7, 419b44, 437a34, 470b4, 522a1, 532a22, 535b45, 536b37, 541b14, 560a34, 580b25.35, 594b10, 595b23.37, 549b8.15.

### subir.

The dependence of the infinitive on *subir* tends to be weak.

el primero que . . . subiesse a pesar del senado et de los otros

. . . a seer emperador *Cron* 162b38

subien a cometer los moros *Cron* 701b5

### tornar.

This verb offers as great a variety of infinitive construction as any other verb of motion, being employed with *a*, *de*, *en*, *por*, *para*, *pora*, and without preposition. Menéndez Pidal states<sup>1</sup> that *tornar* in the *Cid* does not have the *iterative* sense which is frequent in the derivatives of *volvere* and *tornare* as cited by Diez.<sup>2</sup> Menéndez Pidal further considers that *tornar* might almost as well be omitted in so far as it affects the meaning of the verb used with it as infinitive. This would seem to me too hazardous a statement to make so definitely. That *tornar a* with infinitive departed from its strictly literal meaning, and that it became more or less of a formula with the author of the *Cid* cannot be denied. That it does not in the *Cid* have the *iterative* sense found in the same construction in various other authors need not be questioned either. But this hardly proves that nothing is added to the sense of the infinitive. It may well have been felt to intensify the sense of the infinitive and give a force to its action that could not have been gained by merely using the infinitive in a finite form. For instance, in the *Cid* 298, there seems to be present an *inceptive* force unobtainable by the substitution of *se sonrió* for *tornós a sonrisar*. However it may be in the *Cid*, where there is evident a greater weakening of sense than in the same locution used in other texts, in the *Crónica* and elsewhere can be noted two distinct senses, both to be expected from the original

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [2.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 219, 6.

meaning of the verb *tornar*: *to turn to the doing*, and *to do again* (i.e. *to return to the doing*). It is the first of these two senses that allows itself to become weakened until Menéndez Pidal doubts its very existence. In the *Crónica* are found several clear cases of the *iterative* sense of *tornar a* with infinitive:

torno el pueblo a yudgarse por consules assi cuemo de primero  
Cron 7a41

Here the deciding phrase is *assi cuemo de primero*, indicating a return to a former condition. Other citations of the same nature are:

tornaremos a fablar de Hercules Cron 7a13 (Hercules has  
been mentioned a few lines before)

ouo quatrozientos e quaraenta e tres annos, fasta que torno  
a auer emperadores en Roma Cron 7a44

mas agora tornamos a fablar de Hercules Cron 9a53

començaron a dubdar . . . si ficarien et tornarien a lidiar  
Cron 72a22

mas acorrieronle luego sus uassallos, et dieronle un cauallo, et  
tornaron luego a ferrir muy de recio en los moros Cron 403a12  
conseiol . . . que tornasse a penssar en fecho de los caualleros  
Cron 550b42

torno commo de cabo a combater el arraua del Alcudia Cron  
571a15

guarescio daquela gordura, et torno a ser delgado como otro  
omne Cron 408b50

One interesting case of *tornar a* occurs in the *Crónica* 578b28, where *a* seems to express a *purpose* element closely bordering on the *iterative* sense illustrated above, yet being subtly distinct (*to return to take it*): *Capitulo de como los moros de Valencia se arrepintieron porque dexaran a Abenjaf su cabdiello, yl querien tornar a tomar*. There is clear *purpose* in Cron 342a39, due to dependence of the infinitive on the clause instead of on *tornar* itself: *se querie tornar pora su tierra a recebir el regno*.

In the citations following, there is no apparent *iteration* of sense. The *tornar a* has its primitive concept of *to turn to the doing*:



*agora dexe ell estoria de fablar desto, e torna a contar de cuemo el poder de los Romanos entro en Espanna.* This is followed by the chapter heading: *Aquí se comiença la estoria del sennorio que los Romanos ouieron en Espanna*, Cron 18b1, where the important word is *comiença*, indicating the broaching of a new subject. The same condition is found in Cron 20a35, where the actual description of the event follows the announcement of the subject: *torno a contar de cuemo los romanos enuiaron a Cipion el mancebo a Espanna*; Cron 665b46 is another good illustration of this principle: *ell rey don Sancho torno a preguntar al rey don Fernando . . . la razon de su uenida et a affincarle por cuio consseio uiniera assi.* See also Cron 179a47, 180a50.

In the *Cid*, *tornar* occurs with *a*-infinitive as follows:

- tornós a sonrisar *Cid* 298  
 él a las niñas tornólas a catar *Cid* 371  
 mio Çid con los sos tornós a acordar *Cid* 666  
 tornáronse a armar *Cid* 695  
 açerca de Murviedro tornan tiendas a fincar *Cid* 1101  
 alegrasle el coraçón e tornós a sonrrisar *Cid* 1266  
 tornós a alegrar *Cid* 1455

(h)uuiar.

The more frequent construction has the pure infinitive with (h)uuiar (see § 21).

- antes que a la flota se uuiassen a coier *Cron* 21b5  
 nos uuiaran a guisar de caualleros *Cron* 29b5  
 ante que se huuiasen a coier *Cron* 753b27

venir (u-).

Next to *yr*, *venir* was the most influential verb of motion in early Romance.<sup>1</sup> What applies to the syntax of *yr* in general applies to that of *venir*, since they were of the same historical dignity, and represented converse views of the same action. Of the two *yr* was the more frequently used, and was found available for a variety of locutions that could not utilize *venir*.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer-Lübke: *Gram.* III, § 503.

Yet *venir* itself is currently met in all the texts of early Spanish, both with pure infinitive and with the various prepositions that regularly went with verbs of motion: *a*, *de*, *por* and *pora*. It is normal in its function of *goal* with the preposition *a*, though here, as in the case of *yr*, there is often some intermixture of the element of *purpose*. Most of the citations with *a* below are taken from the *Crónica*, but nearly all texts except the *Cid* are represented. This text by preference employs the pure infinitive. In the *Crónica* the locution most affected is *venir a acorrer* as in *el rey vernie a acorrerle*, Cron 584a22 (other examples in Cron 383b22, 400a36, 439b22, 472a22, 500a1).

viníamos a perdernos *Aliz* 872  
 lo vino a veer *Duelo* 69  
 a rogarvos venia *Mil* 170  
 Vinienlo a veer *Mil* 215  
 Vino el pueblo todo a la missa oir,  
 Prender pan beneito, el agua reçebir *Mil* 832  
 vinjeron a furtarlos *SDom* 377  
 ouieron a uenir a guerrear unos con otros *Cron* 31b20

Also: *Sig* 61; *Mil* 909; *Loor* 31, 44; *SDom* 331, 346; *Cron* 371b37, 434b21, 440a1, 450a38, 463a25, 467b19, 472a22, 493a7, 525b39, 537b22, 551a31, 581a12, 584b24.

#### THE A-INFINITIVE INDICATES GOAL WITH REFLEXIVE VERBS

43. The class of reflexives taking the *a*-infinitive is even larger than the last class discussed, that of the intransitive verbs. That this is true does not cause surprise when it is remembered that the group is composed of members of other groups not fundamentally reflexives, such as the transitive and intransitive verbs used for convenience with the reflexive pronouns (*acordarse*, *tornarse*, *mouerse*, etc.). This is particularly true of the transitives, since any transitive can take a reflexive pronoun, subject only to the limitations of its sense.

Notable among transitive verbs that have a well recognized standing as reflexives are *dar*, *echar*, *meter*, *tomar*, etc. A verb may appear in all three classes with the preposition *a* (e.g. *mouer* and *tornar*), viz., as a transitive, intransitive, and reflexive.

The normal function of *a* is evidently to indicate the *goal* of the action: *acogense a andar*, Cid 2690; *dar se ya a morir*, Cron 91b34; *echos a dormir*, Cron 38b11; *Mouieronse a andar*, Alix 1712. Yet the connection between the verb and the preposition may be less close than in the above cases and may indicate a considerable degree of *purpose*, as was pointed out for several verbs of the last group (*a penas se pudieron leuantar a reçibirle*, Cron 665b24). In others, the relation approaches that of verb object (*non se atreuie a yr*, Cron 20b43; *se acordarian a darle la uilla*, Cron 749a18).

The verbs most typical of this group (i.e. those not taking any other than this *a*-infinitive of *goal*) are: *acogerse*, *apresurarse*, *cogerse*, *darse*, *echarse*, *meterse* (for examples see the individual verbs below).

#### **acojerse.**

*acójense a andar* Cid 2690

#### **acordarse.**

The infinitive also has *de*, *por* and *en* with *acordarse*.

*se acordarian a darle la uilla* Cron 749a18

#### **apartarse.**

*Para*-infinitive is likewise noted with *apartarse*.

*se aparto yent a llamar un Dios et a circumcidar se* Cron 109a22

*yo non me aparto con mugeres nin a cantar nin a beuer* Cron 589a22

#### **apresurarse.**

*. . . que se apresurasse a uenir* Cron 566a7

*apresurosse a uenir* Cron 566a11



**assentarse.**

*Yantar* may have substantival force in the examples below (cf. English *sit down to dinner* and *sit down to dine*, *yantar* representing both *dinner* and *dine*; *a* indicates *goal* most clearly with the substantival *yantar*).

assentando se los omnes a yantar Cron 55a15

el rey se assento a yantar Cron 349b20

desque se assento a yantar Cron 694a31

**atreuerse.**

The preposition *a* here introduces practically a verb object. The infinitive may also be used with *de* and *en*, or remain pure. Of these constructions, the prepositional types are most frequent. Again all instances come from the *Crónica*.

nos atrouieron a poblar Cron 14a37

. . . ques atrouieron a lidiar Cron 19a24

non se atreuie a uenir Cron 20b40

non se atreuie a yr Cron 20b43

non se atreuieron a dezir que . . . Cron 233b20

non auie y omne que se atrouiesse a amparar et defender Cron 315a6

se atrouieran a uenirla guerrear Cron 363a2

non me atreuio a lidiar nin a defenderme Cron 411a3

non nos atreuemos a fazer ninguna cosa sin el Cron 414b46

Also: Cron 292b20, 541b25, 652a48, 666b51, 674b36, 732a38, 750a3, 755a35, 765a28.

**ayuntarse.**

The *a*-infinitive here rather expresses the *purpose* than the *goal* of the action. This verb appeared currently as a transitive, and took the infinitive with *por* and *pora* as well as *a*.

. . . que se ayuntassen a defender la fe Cron 449a46

**cogerse.**

As with *tomarse* and *acojerse*, *a* clearly indicates the *goal* of the action.

cogios a uenir Cron 83b14

cogiosse a foyr Cron 702a44

**cuytarse.**

se cuytaran a salir *Cron* 758b30

**darse.**

The only infinitive construction of *darse* has *a*. This is quite natural in view of the fact that *dar* as a transitive verb might normally take an indirect object, and that *a* was used to indicate this object (cf. *se dio alli a malas costumbres, et a yr por su talante*, *Cron* 169a41). *Dar* likewise implies motion, so that *a* would be normal with dependent infinitive. The locution *darse a guarir* is noteworthy, with *guarir* sometimes marked as a substantive: *dieron se a guarir*, *Alix* 734 and 1057; *dieron-se al guarir*, *Alix* 1719, and *Date al guarir luego*, *Sac* 724. The majority of the instances of *darse* with dependent infinitive are found in the *Crónica*.

dieron se a correr *Alix* 1728

dar se ya a morir *Cron* 91b34

se daua a entender *Cron* 236b23

dieronse a folgar *Cron* 256a13

dieron se ellos a foyr *Cron* 310a16

Also: *Cron* 324a36, 342a4, 404a37, 421a37, 670a29.

**echarse.**

This verb shows marked similarity to *darse*, etc. The preposition *a* regularly indicates the *goal* of the action. Three instances appear in the *Alixandre*, the rest in the *Crónica*. The only current locution is *echarse a dormir*, found rather often. As with *darse*, no other infinitive construction is noted with *echarse*.

El pecado que nunca se echo a dormir *Alix* 1879

echos a dormir *Cron* 38b11

Also: *Cron* 127b51, 128a44, 184a48.

echosse a obrar *Cron* 658b32

In two passages the infinitive has the same relation to the verb as the substantives used under the same circumstances and at the same time (see discussion under *darse* above):

se echauan a nobleza et a mas ualer *Cron* 156b40  
 echo se a vicio et a folgar et a usar de todas malas costumbres  
*Cron* 168a12

### **esforçarse.**

*De-* and *pora-*infinitives are also noted with *esforçarse*.

esforçosse a fazelles quanto mal pudo *Cron* 30a37

### **leuantarse.**

The *a*-infinitive indicates both *goal* and *purpose* in the instances below. *De*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive, as well as the pure construction, are also found with *leuantarse*.

se començaua a leuantar a seer por si ell regno de Portugal  
*Cron* 650a34

a penas se pudieron leuantar a reçibirle *Cron* 665b24

### **meterse.**

The similarity in sense and syntax of *meterse* and *tomarse* is to be noted. Menéndez Pidal gives the modern equivalent as *ponerse*, also with *a*-infinitive.<sup>1</sup> Only two instances of *meterse* with *a*-infinitive appear in the poetry, all the rest in the *Crónica*.

métense a andar *Cid* 2878

al ferir se metieron *SMill* 442 (with substantive-infinitive)

se metie . . . a amparar el so fecho *Cron* 20b19

metios . . . a entrar por medio dell agua *Cron* 71b54

metieron se a andar *Cron* 72b11

metieron se a destroyr toda tierra de Ytalia *Cron* 168a21

se metieron a robar *Cron* 290a39

metiose el rey . . . a fazer obras de misericordia *Cron* 406a41

Also: *Cron* 451a19, 475b15, 522a13, 673b1.

### **mouerse.**

The transitive and intransitive, as well as reflexive, forms of *mouer* are used. *Pora*-infinitive is also found with the reflexive; the other constructions with *a*, *pora* and pure.

Mouieronse a andar *Aliz* 1712

adubdar non te mueuas *SDom* 713

non se mouer a ferir *Cron* 75b9

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [3.

**pararse.**

*Pora*-infinitive also occurs with *pararse*.

parosse a almorzar *Cron* 115b6

**tomarse.**

The *Cid* and the *Crónica* share equally the examples of *tomarse*. Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> gives the locution an *inceptive* sense along with *pensar de*, *conpeçar de*, etc. He observes that the *romances* usually prefer the synonym of *tomarse*, i.e. *prenderse*, unknown in the *Cid*. In one instance he finds no inceptive sense, *Cid* 1102: *tomós a maravillar*. However, in the vast majority of passages this inceptive sense is clearly felt. No other infinitive construction is available with *tomarse*.

moros e moras tomáronse a quexar *Cid* 852

Viólo mio Çid, tomós a maravillar *Cid* 1102

tómanse a deportar *Cid* 1514

tómanse a preguntar *Cid* 1825

tomaron se a reir del *Cron* 32b15

tomaron se a robar et a despechar los cibdadanos *Cron* 284b17

tomose entonces a sonrrisar *Cron* 374b7

tomaronse a riir *Cron* 432a5

**tornarse.**

For discussion of the intransitive construction of *tornar* with infinitive, see § 42. Examples of the reflexive construction illustrate both senses of *tornar* (*to turn, to return, to doing something*). The *iterative* sense of *tornar* is evidenced in the following instances: *tornosse a fazer cuemo primero todo lo peor*, *Cron* 124b16; . . . *se tornasse a uiuir uida de omne simple*, *Cron* 183b16; *tornaron se de cabo a auer sos consules cuemo los ouieran antes*, *Cron* 86b29. Elsewhere the normal sense of *to turn, to set oneself, to doing* makes the locution resemble *tomarse*, *meterse*, etc. above. The *de*-, *para*- and *pora*-infinitives are also used with *tornarse*, and, with the intransitive *tornar*, *de*, *en*, *pora*, as well as the construction without preposition.

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [3.

tornós a sonrisar *Cid* 298, 1266

torno se . . . a correr las provincias *Cron* 167b47

tornauanse a comer las yeruas *Cron* 583b36

tornosse a guerrear *Cron* 581a38; also *Aliz* 2361

#### **treuerse.**

Like *atreuerse* above, *treuerse* takes *a* to introduce practically an infinitive object. The pure infinitive is regular with *treuerse*.

non me trevria en ello a venir *Mil* 45

non se treue a firmar lo que . . . *Cron* 491b25

#### **vezarse.**

The pure infinitive is also used with *vezarse*.

Los omnes que se vezan tal vida a mantener *Aliz* 2361

### THE A-INFINITIVE WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS

44. The group of transitive verbs taking *a* with the infinitive is smaller and, on the whole, less representative than the groups recently discussed (e.g. the intransitive verbs of motion and the reflexives). There are only three verbs of this class frequently met in the texts under consideration: *ayudar*, *dar* and *enbiar*. The prevailing function of the preposition *a* is to indicate the *goal* of the action (*to, toward*): *ayudauan le a mantener el regno*, *Cron* 16b43; *los tornara a obedecer el senorio de Roma*, *Cron* 158b17. Occasionally, as in the last few sections, a passage will emphasize the *purpose* element of the preposition: *pidio abeuer*, *SDom* 306; *diogelo abeuer*, *SDom* 307. *Mouer* and *tornar* are found among these transitives, although they are more regularly used as intransitive verbs of motion. *Dar* offers a number of delicate problems discussed below.

#### **aduxir.**

This verb illustrates the normal use of the *a*-infinitive to indicate the *goal* of the action.

los aduxieron a seer pocos *Cron* 4b1

. . . fasta quem aduxo a casar con estotro *Cron* 42a16



**ayudar.**

This is one of the most frequent verbs of the transitive group taking *a*-infinitive, the preposition regularly indicating the *goal* of the action with *ayudar*. The pure infinitive and that with *pora* also appear in the *ayudar* locution, though more rarely: *Se Dios me ayudase la uoluntad complir*, Sac 145. The *Crónica* yields all except three of the numerous examples cited below.

- ruego . . . que me ayude a rogar *Cid* 363  
 tu nos ayuda las almas asaluar *SDom* 766  
 ayudol el diablo aprender la soldada *Sac* 210  
 . . . que los ayudassen a librar daquela coyta *Cron* 15b53  
 ayudauan le a mantener el regno *Cron* 16b43  
 . . . quel ayudassen a deffender Roma *Cron* 20b8  
 . . . quel ayudassen a cercar la uilla *Cron* 35b43  
 . . . por tal que ge lo ayude a auer *Cron* 299a20  
 . . . que gelo ayudassen a mantener *Cron* 324b28  
 ayudol ella misma a armar *Cron* 341a45

Also: *Cron* 345a7, 346b48, 379b19, 429b27, 445b4, 518a25, 547b17, 547b40, 548a22, 548a24, 555b12, 559a21, 561a21, 561a48, 572b20, etc.

**dar.**

Concerning *dar* with *a*-infinitive Menéndez Pidal states:<sup>1</sup> "La preposición *a* otras veces sirve para marcar el fin: *Dio a partir estos dineros*, *Cid* 804." This is found to be relatively true of all the other instances of *dar a* with infinitive. The statement of Diez<sup>2</sup> is not at all contradictory to this when he says that *dar* with infinitive may be equivalent to *lasciare* (hence *dezar* in Old Spanish), in the sense of *permitting*. This is stated for the pure infinitive by Diez. Only one example of this principle is found in our texts: *Porque daban al pueblo beber de buen castigo*, Soria 60. In this passage *beber* is an active infinitive object of *daban*, not a noun as *beber* often is; thus the idea of *permitting* or *causing* can be felt in *daban* rather than its literal sense of *giving*. The poet uses both the pure and *a*-infinitives with equivalent sense in: *Tu me da bien empezar*,

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [3].

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 208.

*tu me da bien a complir*, Loor 3. The introduction of *a* before the infinitive gives a sense of *goal* to the action that does not conspicuously interfere with this idea of *permitting* or *causing*: *entre tales omnes me dieron a beuir*, Alix 926; *bien a beber me diestes*, Sig 28; *me das a veyer tamaña alegría*, Alix 945; *tan grandes quebrantos nos dieron a veyer*, Alix 1422; *Ruega . . . que nos de en cabo a ueer la su faz*, SDom 772. The *goal* of *a* merges into a more definite *purpose* in *diogelo a beuer*, SDom 307; *sy non ouieral dado venino a beuer*, Alix 627; *dyol mucho a ganar*, Alix 981; *dieron la a criar a un hermano*, Cron 33a36; *yl dan alguna animalia a matar*, Cron 74b1. The passive sense seems to make itself felt in the infinitive from time to time, though in most cases the sense is satisfied by either the active or passive rendering, as was generally true of *fazer* and infinitive. It is quite natural, however, to feel a passive sense in such instances as *lo dió a criar*, Mil 579; *yl dan alguna animalia a matar*, Cron 74b1. In passages having *beber* it is sometimes easy to read a noun value into the infinitive, though not when *a* is used. It is clearly a noun in *Diol beber tan amargo que peor non podría*, since it is modified by an adjective. In *diogelo abeuer*, SDom 307, it is clearly a verb as well as in *bien a beber me diestes*, Sig 28, and *venino a beuer*, Alix 627. The *de*-infinitive is also used with *dar*: *dauan de comer*, Cron 523b25 (for other verbs taking *de*- and *a*-infinitives with quite similar sense, see *auer*, *ser* and *tener*, § 45).

*dieronte a matar a los tus amigos* Alix 1630

*yo a ti lo diera todo a ordenar* Alix 1759

*diol a criar al rey* Cron 7b45

*dieron la a criar a un hermano* Cron 33a36

*non querie dar esto a entender* Cron 53a45

*yl dan alguna animalia a matar* Cron 74b1

Also: Alix 1630, 1759; Cid 3381; Cron 706a15.

### **endereçar.**

*Por*- and *pora*-infinitives also occur with *endereçar*.

*endereçarie al malo a fazer bien* Cron 85b4

**enbiar (enu-).**

The infinitive with *por* and *pora*, as well as without preposition, is also noted with *enbiar*. The function of the preposition is clearly that of *goal* (*quando alguno enuiauan a conqwerir tierra*, Cron 24b1), becoming *purpose* when *enbiar* has an indirect object which assumes to itself the *goal* element naturally associated with *enbiar* (*enuiaron . . . los mandaderos al rey . . . a dezirle que . . .*, Cron 391a9). As has been most often found with verbs taking the *a*-infinitive, a majority of the available instances come from the late prose-text, the *Crónica*. *Enbiar* and its infinitive may each have direct and indirect objects, and the position of these objects is not fixed, so that the context often has to be resorted to in order to determine with which verb a given object functions: *a rogar uos enbian*, SDom 278; *enbiol a dezir . . .*, Alix 1571. *Enbiar a dezir* is the most frequent *enbiar* locution and *dezir* usually takes the indirect object despite its occasional position with *enbiar* (*enbioles a dezir en paz e en amor que catasen a el por su enperador*, Alix 1112).

enbio a amatarla ante que fues ardida Alix 860

enbio a la madre de Dario a rogar que . . . Alix 1568

. . . que enuiasse a aquel mismo Carthon a poblar aquel logar  
Cron 37a2

enuio luego un so hermano . . . a correr la tierra Cron 364b52

enuio a don Velasco . . . a firmar las pazes Cron 422b36

enuiaron los alaraues . . . a rogar et dezir a Mahomat Almahadi por sus mandaderos Cron 457a6

enuio luego sus mandados . . . a dezirles que . . . Cron 418b2

Also: Cron 396b17, 417a20, 527a28, 540b42, 562a30.

**leuar.**

With this verb of motion, *a* with the infinitive naturally indicates the *goal* of the action, yet in actual instances it expresses rather more of *purpose*. The dependent infinitive is susceptible of the passive sense mentioned for such phrases as *dar a entender* (see *dar* above). All citations come from the prose *Crónica*. The only notable locution is *leuar a enterrar*.



leuaronle a enterrar *Cron* 449b21, 714b39, 453b15

leuauanlo todo a vender *Cron* 569a15

le leuauan a abeurar *Cron* 641a46

### **meter.**

The only locution to be specially noted for this verb is *meter a leer*, in which *poner* may replace *meter* (*Mahomet fue puesto a leer*, *Cron* 263a26). *Meter* also takes the infinitive with *en* and *por*.

El padre de siete años metiole a leer *Aliz* 16

metieron lo a leer *Cron* 164a41

metiolos a cometer fuertes fechos *Cron* 229a9

metamos mano a destroyr los gascones *Cron* 286a24

metiolos luego a leer *Cron* 483b31

### **mostrar.**

As a transitive, *mostrar* is practically equivalent to *ensennar*. It also takes the pure infinitive. The personal object of *mostrar* is noted as direct.

et de las mostrar a ferir de segures et . . . a tirar dardos *Cron* 126a52

mostrolos a lidiar et a combatersse et a ser caçadores *Cron* 483b33

### **mouer (-v-).**

Besides its transitive use, *mouer* appears as intransitive and as reflexive, all three constructions taking *a*-infinitive to indicate the *goal* of the action.

Puedes mover a omne a fer desaguisado *SLaur* 39

le mouieron ya descubiertamientra a cometer esta batalla *Cron* 67a19

### **pedir.**

As with *dar* above, the *a*-infinitive with *pedir* expresses *purpose*.

pidio abeuer *SDom* 306

### **poner.**

This is an excellent illustration of the *a*-infinitive expressing *goal*. *En*-infinitive is also noted with *poner*. *Meter* is used

**pensar.**

This verb takes the infinitive with *a* and *de*, as well as without preposition, but the *de*-construction is alone frequent.

penso por yr a Libia *Alix* 1148

**poner.**

The *de*-infinitive is more common than the *por*-construction with *poner*. *En*- and *a*-infinitives also occur, but not with objective function. The contrast in *por*-infinitives in this case is interesting:

han puesto por matarlo, por aver los onores *Alix* 1709

**yurar (j-).**

The *de*-infinitive is found more currently with this verb.

los nuestros enemigos yurado an por tener con la nemiga et  
desapoderar a nos *Cron* 74a5

anbos son sobre ti por matarte jurados *Alix* 1669

**POR-INFINITIVE WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS (OBJECT PRESENT)**

50. This class includes such verbs as *adobar*, *aguisar* and *combidar*, which generally take a noun or pronoun object as well as the *por*-infinitive. They are entirely normal in their construction, as can be seen from the predominance of the sense of *purpose* in the *por*. The difference between this group and the last one discussed (*por*-infinitive as object) can be seen by comparing instances with and without noun or pronoun object: *Estaua aguisando por entrar en carrera*, *Alix* 1623; *Aguisaron el cuerpo . . . Por darli sepultura*, *SMill* 312. The most striking illustration is found in *dexar* (with pronoun object present, the *por*-infinitive clearly expresses *purpose*, while without such object and with *por*, *a* or *de*, the locution means *to cease*, etc.): *dexol por enterrar*, *Cron* 674b14; . . . *que non dexassen por ensayar el castiello, maguer que semeiaua griue de combater*, *Cron* 695b27. Although the cases below easily become clear instances of clausal dependence, there is felt to be a greater attraction exerted by the main verb for

reasonably be called the Romance languages, the sense of *possibility*, which becomes the regular future and conditional, and that of *necessity*, which is preserved in the prepositional constructions, were struggling for the supremacy. Although with the earliest Spanish documents the two senses were becoming fixed in what was to be their permanent form (*futurity* in the pure infinitive construction, and *necessity* in that with *a* and *de*) the changing conditions can be easily perceived and studied. For one thing, the two verbs going to make up this practical future and conditional could be separated by a personal pronoun. This is quite current in the early texts, occurring over fifty times in the *Cid*, and commonly in other works (*ir lo hemos buscar*, *Cid* 1438; *fer lo he de voluntad*, *Cid* 1447; *Semeiar mie, señores, si a todos vos plaz . . .* *Sac* 157).

Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> discusses these constructions thus: "Muchas veces, al lado de la preposición *de*, se emplea también *a* indistintamente. Tal es el caso con los auxiliares que rigen infinitivo para formar una expresión perifrástica de la voz activa con diversos matices de significación: — *auer* expresa la necesidad, rigiendo al infinitivo ora con *de* . . . ora con *a*. La preposición falta rara vez, acaso sólo en: *los que han lidiar*, *Cid* 3523 . . . El pretérito, rigiendo á un infinitivo con *de* o *a*, expresa no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración." These statements, though in general true, will permit some slight modification. First, there is no reference here to the exact function of the preposition. Secondly, the statement that the preterit does not on occasion express *necessity* can with difficulty be proved. The prepositional function that needs mention here, and that serves to clarify to a considerable extent the locution discussed, is that one already so often found in the preposition *a*, *goal*. This was pointed out by Meyer-Lübke, who considers *habere ad* to date back to a period before Romance, and *goal* to be the concept inherent in it. The situation can be better visualized from the English locutions

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [2.

**judgar.**

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *judgar*.

fue judgando el omne por morir e lazarar *Alix* 2515

**meter.**

This verb forms a number of interesting noun locutions with *por*-infinitive, as well as similar constructions with the prepositions *de* and *en* (*En buscarli serviçio methie toda femença*, Mil 50; *metie en complirlo toda su voluntad*, SDom 263; *leuaua en coraçon de matar all yerno*, Cron 181a52; . . . *que uos meta en coraçon de sacarle ende*, Cron 355a20). *Purpose* shaded with *goal* is felt in *por*, as contrasted with the *objective de*-construction and the purely *goal* function of *en*.

*meter corazon*:

Por fer toda nemiga metien los corazones *SMill* 221

*meter estudio*:

Metien bien so estudio por mucho li onrar *SMill* 307

*meter poder*:

por defender su rey todo poder metieron *Alix* 2219

*meter voluntad*:

por saluar señor tan grant voluntad miso *Alix* 1678

**prometer (voto).**

The *de*-object occurs most often with *prometer*.

por partirme del mundo voto e prometido *SMill* 16

**THE POR-INFINITIVE WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS OF MOTION**

51. The reflexives following this group, and these intransitive verbs of motion, form the two largest classes of *por*-infinitive taking verbs. The intransitives are among the verbs most frequently employed by the language, while the reflexives are used rather sporadically as individual verbs. The *por*-infinitive defines the *purpose* of an action more clearly than the pure infinitive or that with *a*, and rather less clearly than that with *pora* and *para*, inasmuch as these last combine the vir-

tues of both *por* and *a* (*reçebir los sale*, Cid 297; *saliolos a recebir*, Cron 342b47; *andaua por casar con ella*, Cron 647a23; *salio . . . pora yr degollar el carnero*, Cron 504a51; *sedien para oyr la toda la gent quedada*, SDom 566). Of these five possible methods of expressing the closely merged relations of *goal* and *purpose*, the weaker pure and *a*-infinitives recur very much more frequently than the others. The *para*-infinitive did not develop to any great extent until somewhat later in the language. While *pora* was reserved for the *purpose* (including *goal*) sense only, *por* was more general and might express *concession*, *means*, *cause*, etc. *Morir*, *nacer* and *contender* are included in the list below, although they are not strictly verbs of motion, the first two designating a change of condition and the third implying motion only by its connotation.

The *por*-infinitive frequently depends on a *goal*-clause, the main verb of which expresses motion. Such cases may closely resemble the regular construction with these verbs (see § 53, § 62 and § 66 for *por*- and *pora*-infinitive in clausal dependence):

yre y . . . por complir uestera uoluntad Cron 435a12

yas mueuen adelant por a mio Cid . . . a manos los tomar Cid 701

#### **andar.**

Emphasis is indicated in *andar* by its appearance only once with *a*, and not at all with pure infinitive, as against six cases with *por*. This is the converse of the usual situation with verbs of motion (e.g. *yr*). *En*-infinitive occurs, but with the *place* element of *en* conspicuous (*yo ando en seruicio de Dios et en uengar el mal*, Cron 564a33). In *Paris andaua muerto por a Etor vengar*, Alix 705, *andaua* acts as auxiliary to *muerto*, there being then no special dependence of the infinitive on *andaua*.

andaua por casar con ella Cron 647a23

Andaua por mouerlas Alix 236

anda por lo fer Alix 683

El diablo andaba por ferse del seguro Loor 46

Andas por confonder toda christiandat SLaur 43

. . . anda por la fe guerrear,

Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar SLaur 29



**contender.**

Infinitive constructions with *de*, *pora* and *en* are also noted with *contender*. This is in keeping with the unsettled prepositional habits of verbs of *striving* in general (e.g. *punnar*, *trabaiar*).

contendie . . . por fer matar a Etor *Alix* 662

Contendia por levarlos todos a meioria *SMill* 96

Contendie el bon omne . . . Por fincar los inoios *Mil* 489

**correr.**

No other infinitive construction is noted with *correr*.

corrien por çevarse *Alix* 2466

**endereçar.**

The infinitives with *a* and *pora* are also used with *endereçar*.

endereço por darle del pendon señalado *Alix* 465

**yr.**

This verb is frequent in all the infinitive constructions associated with verbs of motion (except the *de* of *separation*): *a*, *por*, *pora*, *para*, and without preposition. The less emphatic constructions occur most often in the poetry (the infinitive being pure or with *a*), while the few available instances of the *por*-infinitive definitely dependent on *yr* come largely from the *Crónica*. French well illustrates the use of the pure infinitive with its equivalent of *yr*, expressing the *goal* (or very weak *purpose*) of the action (*je vais le voir*). The *inceptive* sense of *yr* with pure infinitive is seen to be intensified by the use of *yr* directly with *por*-infinitive (*Fue por darle con ella*, *Alix* 470; *fue por besar la mano al rey*, *Cron* 419b46;  *fueron abrazarla*, *Soria* 60). The *por*-infinitive is more often dependent on an *yr*-clause than on *yr* alone: *Yban al omne bueno por con el se morar*, *SMill* 253; *eran ydos al palacio por oyr aquellas nuevas*, *Cron* 603a23; also *Cid* 3081; *SDom* 360; *Alix* 1697, 2493; *Cron* 422a25, 435a12.

yua por dar della a Munno Salido *Cron* 437b30

fue por ferirle con ella *Cron* 447b43

yua por passar a Siria *Cron* 544a5

El padre cordojoso entro asu altar,  
como era usado, al Criador rogar,

in which *al* is of course the absorbing word. But if the principle is accepted in this instance, it would normally be accepted in three others:

entro el ala iglesia, al criador rogar *SDom* 300

entro a la iglesia rogar al Criador *SDom* 409

Entro ala iglesia al Criador rogar *SDom* 425

In the poem from which all these four doubtful cases come there is only one passage in which the preposition *a* is clearly used with *entrar*, and that is:

Entro enna mañana ala mjssa dezir *SDom* 346

Against four cases that might be considered as instances of pure infinitive with verbs of motion, one of the most frequent and unquestionable infinitive constructions of the early language, there is only one passage in this or in the other poems by Berceo to indicate his preference for the *a*-infinitive with *entrar*. On the other hand, he wittingly employs the pure infinitive in four cases, where there is no possible reason for supposing it absorbed:

Entró el sacristano el sepulcro catar *SMil* 335

Por entrar a la missa la confession fazer *Mil* 71

Entró fer oraçion el novio refresco *Mil* 338

. . . Que pueda entrar entro veer la magestad *Mil* 768

Judging, then, from Berceo's own treatment of the *entrar* locutions, it must be said that there is much more evidence against absorption in these cases than for it. Why, indeed, is it necessary to suppose that this principle operated in these doubtful instances of the *entrar* locution? I do not see that it is necessary, since the pure infinitive answers all needs of the passages, and is sanctioned by the author as sufficient. The fact that it is poetry that is being discussed also has some bearing on the matter, since the *a*-infinitive was used more rarely in the poetry than in the prose of this period. This is seen to be true by comparing the citations from prose and poetry under any



of the verbs of motion of this chapter. It will be found that *a* was customary in prose texts such as the *Crónica* for the greater number of these verbs, but was often peculiarly rare in the poetry of the same general period. It was probably a matter of temporary convenience that decided whether or not Berceo employed *a* in these instances.

Two more passages are cited to show absorption of *a*:

començo muy afirmes al Criador rogar *SDom* 450

ante començo el la açada buscar *SDom* 726

Here Professor Fitzgerald takes *al* and *açada* as the absorbing words. He states that *a* or *de* was nearly always required with *començar* and infinitive, and that Cuervo only gives one instance of the omission of the preposition with *començar*. But, as also remarked by the editor, it is significant that at least one passage in this same poem has no *a* with the infinitive, and permits no explanation of such omission through absorption: *començaron los monges las canpañas tañer*, *SDom* 568. If Berceo omits the preposition here, it is reasonable to suppose he may omit it elsewhere if evidence shows that such treatment was by no means rare in this period. Nine examples of the pure infinitive with *començar* are available from the few texts herein studied, none of them permitting absorption to be considered as the cause of the absence of *a*:

començo darle guerra *Alix* 402

Començol mal traher con palabras yradas *Alix* 451

Començol dar priesa *Alix* 685

començaron guerrear luego *Cron* 219a6

Also: *Cron* 605a46, 653b19, 684b32, 741a50.

There are enough examples of the pure infinitive with *començar*, then, to seem to indicate that the two cases in question would be by no means irregular, if considered as instances of the pure infinitive object with *començar*, no question being raised as to the possible disappearance of the preposition.

Professor Fitzgerald further states: "One might be tempted to count as another case of *a* *embedida* after *fue* the verse *fue*

*caer al sepulcro del confessor honrrado*, SDom 669." In such a case it seems to me that there can be no valid reason for considering the possibility of absorption, since, in the first place, in the *Santo Domingo* itself there are eleven cases of *yr* with pure infinitive against five with *a*-infinitive. The pure infinitive with *yr* was, indeed, more regular in the poetry of the period than was the prepositional infinitive (the *Alixandre* yields about twice as many instances of the construction without preposition as it does with *a*, i. e. 56 and 29 respectively). There is of course the further fact that absorption of *a* by the *e* of *fue* would be quite abnormal. But it should be added, in justice to Professor Fitzgerald, that he suggests rather than affirms absorption of *a* to be operative in this verse, and states himself that *yr* does not require the preposition.

The conclusion that I wish to emphasize is that, whereas absorption did doubtless operate in certain instances and in certain conditions, it must not be assumed, just because there is an *a* in juxtaposition, as operative with the preposition *a* in those instances where the pure infinitive is used. The pure infinitive should be considered regular and normal until the evidence is conclusive in favor of voluntary omission of the preposition.

The application of the above discussion on the immediate problem of *auer* with the *a*-infinitive is obvious. The preposition is lacking in a fair number of instances of this locution, and, where possible, the temptation would be felt to consider absorption as responsible, but in view of the evidence given above, absorption will not be postulated as operative in these passages. They will then, until further evidence is at hand, be classed as instances of the pure infinitive construction.

A few facts should be mentioned concerning the doubtful cases of this *auer* locution, however. In Berceo's own works the pure infinitive is found in seven passages. In only one of these is there a neighboring *a*:

Por que en tal periglo nos aves a uviar  
 Por el tu guyonage avemos arrivar,  
 Et de aquellas ondas tan fuertes escapar    *Loor* 197

The sense does not require a separate preposition here. It is of course possible to explain the form *arrivar* as the scribe's writing for *a rivar*, or as a real instance of the absorption of *a*. However, the most natural assumption is that it is the regular pure infinitive object with *auer*, and that any ingenious explanation is unnecessary, since the use or omission of the preposition would not alter the sense of the passage. In the *Alixandre*, there are over three hundred cases of *a* with *auer* against a negligible number in which there is any possibility of absorption. Of these few, one has the neighboring *a* in another hemistich, a fact which would naturally militate against its being explained by this principle. On the other hand, there are over thirty cases where the preposition *a* is permitted by the poet to stand in hiatus with another *a*. It would appear, then, that when he employed the pure infinitive, he did so voluntarily, and not because it was objectionable to have the preposition stand in juxtaposition with another *a*. As this was the same ancient construction that had developed, in different order and with different sense, into the Romance future, the poet might occasionally use it, and consider that tradition consecrated its employment, especially as the prepositional construction was a recent development of the language.

Instances of juxtaposed *a*:<sup>1</sup>

Los que . . . han alimosna pedir *Alix* 1596

Avremos . . . la cosa destajar *Alix* 2045

ouieron atender e buscar *Alix* 2224

Instances of permitted hiatus with the vowel *a*:

ovo envidia a naçer *Mil* 100

Ovo la mezquiniella a plegar al forado *Mil* 146

Ovieron con sue cuita a romper el silencio *Mil* 208

<sup>1</sup> The context will usually indicate whether the initial *a* of an infinitive is separable, or necessary to the sense of the infinitive (*ouieron se aguardar*, *Alix* 2162; *ouieron aplegar*, *Alix* 1276). It seems probable that the actual use of the preposition *a* in the infinitive would satisfy any possible feeling of need for *a* much more thoroughly than an unrelated final *a* in a preceding noun (see *Alix* 2045 and p. 25 above).

- Ovieronse en cueta a veer *SMill* 478  
 avie sines dubda a seer martiriado *Laur* 27  
 avia adezirelo *SDom* 37  
 ouo la uieia a morir *SDom* 112  
 Ovolá a sacar *SDom* 416  
 Ovo . . . el burgés a asmar *Mil* 635  
 Abran con el diablo siempre a aturar *Loor* 182  
 Ovolo . . . el rrey a acojer *Aliz* 382  
 ouo Vlixes a andar *Aliz* 731  
 ouieron los de Tiro trayçion a asmar *Aliz* 1079  
 ouo mucho a acostar *Aliz* 1361  
 merçet nos avra en cabo a aver *Aliz* 1422  
 ouiste en cabo en lo seco a afogar *Aliz* 1762  
 ovoalo a alcançar *Aliz* 1965  
 ovo a asmar *Aliz* 2007  
 ouieronse . . . del canpo a alçar *Aliz* 2032  
 Ovo vn firme seso en cabo a asmar *Aliz* 2092  
 ovo grant tienpo con las bestias a andar *Alex* 2382

Also: *Aliz* 1568, 1722, 2092, etc.

For further investigation of these phenomena, see other instances of *auer* with *a*-infinitive in:

*Cid* 169, 229, 322, 358, 431, 642, 953, 1145, 1181, 1210, 1260, 1666, 1667, 2220, 2321, 2661, 3235, 3312, 3451, 3470, 3523; *Sac* 91, 144, 146, 183, 286; *Duelo* 7, 45, 72, 168; *Mil* 87, 103, 127, 128, 134, 156, 185, 286, 296, 342, 379, 382, 430, 435, 512, 563, 592, 635, 636, 717, 741, 797; *SOria* 102, 163; *Sig.* 69; *SDom* 37, 111, 112, 126, 162, 223, 284, 357, 358, 416, 422, 423, 489, 509, 515, 551, 593, 641, 691, 696, 698, 724, 726; *Loor* 20, 119, 152, 182, 195, 197, 224, 226; *SMill* 26, 40, 47, 100, 104, 114, 146, 164, 208, 218, 272, 282, 291, 293, 343, 345, 348, 350, 367, 415, 453, 478; *SLaur* 27, 75, 77; *Aliz* 3, 20, 22, 25, 27, 41, 64, 77, 112, 148, 150, 151, 154, 156, 165, 166, 182, 193, 210, 214, 240, 260, 296, 311, 338, 344, 349, 359, 376, 377, 381, 382, 383, 389, 391, 393, 394, 409, 446, 447, 487, 498, 502, 512, 519, 528, 532, 549, 573, 574, 584, 585, 588, 590, 597, 603, 606, 618, 629, 653, 654, 675, 692, 705, 708, 719, 731, 734, 735, 758, 764, 772, 781, 819, 882, 887, 889, 892, 915, 963, 966, 981, 999, 1000,



06, 1016, 1018, 1024, 1033, 1034, 1071, 1079, 1090, 1106,  
 07, 1111, 1137, 1160, 1166, 1185, 1206, 1232, 1253, 1281,  
 06, 1306, 1312, 1323, 1329, 1333, 1341, 1348, 1355, 1361,  
 09, 1370, 1372, 1375, 1379, 1388, 1396, 1398, 1401, 1404,  
 08, 1422, 1425, 1486, 1490, 1539, 1542, 1554, 1558, 1559,  
 08, 1581, 1602, 1624, 1635, 1668, 1678, 1722, 1723, 1746,  
 07, 1761, 1762, 1787, 1792, 1814, 1834, 1840, 1870, 1879,  
 09, 1903, 1920, 1950, 1956, 1962, 1965, 1971, 1975, 1980,  
 01, 1989, 1991, 2007, 2013, 2024, 2030, 2036, 2037, 2045,  
 03, 2054, 2056, 2064, 2071, 2086, 2091, 2092, 2094, 2098,  
 05, 2138, 2143, 2146, 2148, 2153, 2154, 2158, 2162, 2164,  
 05, 2175, 2190, 2192, 2199, 2200, 2219, 2224, 2227, 2231,  
 04, 2237, 2240, 2255, 2333, 2361, 2362, 2365, 2382, 2412,  
 09, 2420, 2431, 2443, 2449, 2452, 2479, 2509, 2515, 2533,  
 07, 2538, 2554, 2574, 2575, 2593, 2613, 2625, 2636, etc.

As is seen by comparing the citations with and without *a*, there is scarcely ever any difficulty in the sense of the passages, nor does the presence or the absence of the preposition affect the use. In the same way it is difficult to see any appreciable difference in meaning between the *auer a* and the *auer de* constructions. The original function of the prepositions has become very faint indeed, and scholars such as Diez and Menéndez Pidal make little or no distinction between these prepositional uses of *auer*. *Auer a* is far more common than *auer de* in the texts studied, but by the time of Santillana, the *de*-infinitive had definitely won the victory.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of *auer* with *de*-infinitive:

como ha de seyer *Alíx* 375

Eneas por tanto ouo de escapar *Alíx* 528

he de seyer desbaratado *Alíx* 656

auie de moryr *Alíx* 658

como auie de far *Alíx* 803

como auien de fer *Alíx* 854

lo he de tragar *Alíx* 1358

Ouo de fincar oío Dario a do andaua *Alíx* 1364

<sup>1</sup> Diez, *Gram.* III, p. 217.

quando han a mouer, como han de posar *Alx* 296  
 as mucho de veyer *Alx* 297  
 ouo de parir *Alx* 338  
 ouo de falar *Alx* 363  
 non se ouo de vagar *Alx* 1414  
 de ir he enpos ellos *SDom* 512  
 otras cosas muchas auemos de ueder *SDom* 222

*Auer* with *de*-infinitive also appears in: *Cid* 321, 354, 678, 834, 1136, 1449, 1656, 1721, 1876, 3320, 3321, 3324; *SDom* 222, 428, 488, 489, 512, 516, 526, 691, 719; *Sac* 6, 48, 86, 91; *SOria* 98, 140, 185; *SMill* 14, 197, 226, 234, 321, 486; *Duelo* 108, 125, 139; *Sig* 54, *Loor* 179; *Mil* 81, 462, 581, 635, 711, 797; *Alx* 52, 296, 297, 311, 330, 335, 338, 358, 359, 363, 369, 375, 528, 624, 656, 658, 675, 780, 803, 854, 904, 947, 966, 1257, 1276, 1358, 1364, 1414, 1627, 1668, 1674, 1679, 1728, 1756, 1757, 1847, 1856, 1903, 1905, 2039, 2094, 2129, 2246, 2467, 2516, 2584, etc.

*ser*.

Diez<sup>1</sup> considers *esse ad* to be the passive of *habere ad* and *de*. He cites an infinitive construction found in Latin that would seem at first to be the parent of the Romance form. Latin *est dicere, est credere*, etc. only expressed *possibility* (never the *periphrastic sense* of the *auer* and *ser* locutions), and were used impersonally while the derived languages regularly permit personal use in these constructions. Menéndez Pidal<sup>2</sup> agrees with Diez in calling *ser a* the passive of *auer a*, and adds that the modern equivalents are the impersonal *hay que* (for such cases as *es a fer*, *Cid* 2995), and *haber de* with intransitives (for *a passar es por nos*, *Cid* 3528, etc.). The texts studied offer only a small number of examples of *ser* with *a*-infinitive in comparison with the much more active *auer* locution. Practically all texts are represented, however. The infinitive constructions with *a* and *de* are found in about the same number

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 218, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Cid*, § 161, [2].

by Menéndez Pidal and called *falta de realización*. There may not be a great difference between these two senses, yet a distinction doubtless exists. While mentioning the Spanish equivalents of *stare* and *essere* that have this particular future meaning, Meyer-Lübke mentions *estar* with *por* and *para* but says nothing of *ser* with these infinitive constructions. Diez<sup>1</sup> points out that *ser* with *por*-infinitive indicates *possibility*. At least it indicates a more indefinite *futurity* than *estar* with *por*, as can be noted by contrasting *li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343, with *lo que es por venir*, Alix 1792, and *al que es por nascer*, Cron 513b17. The sense of the *por*-infinitive with *estar* is not entirely consistent, however, as is seen by comparing *querrie mas seyer muerto o estar por nascer*, Alix 1396, and *estaua aun por descabesçar*, Cron 441a24, with *estauan todos por perder se*, Cron 76a10. In the *Crónica* occur two cases with no indication of *immediate futurity*: *estauan y los cuerpos de los omnes muertos por soterrar*, Cron 133b35, and *tanto tiempo estido daquela guisa por enterrar*, Cron 674b21. In these instances, the *por*-infinitive indicates a *falta de realización* as well as a shade of *purpose*.

#### **fincar.**

*Fincar* is unmentioned by Menéndez Pidal as a member of this group, because there are evidently no examples available in the *Cid*. The *Crónica* offers, however, several well defined instances of the same type of construction as that discussed above under *estar*. The difference between *estar* and *fincar* was merely that *fincar* in general indicated greater duration of time than *estar* when used with the *por*-infinitive (*to remain, to be yet to do*).

- . . . quel no finco sino muy poco por cercar Cron 103b41  
 las cosas que fincauan por quemar Cron 125a39  
 el tiempo que fincaua por passar Cron 131a4  
 finco este pleyto por judgar Cron 518b19  
 fincaua el rey don Alfonso por casar Cron 553a5  
 finco donna Dulçe donzella por casar Cron 652a3

<sup>1</sup> Gram. III, p. 233.



## THE INFINITIVE WITH POR

46. It will be remembered that expression of *purpose* was remarked as one of the functions of the preposition *a*. It was not, however, stated as its most characteristic or primary sense. *Purpose* is the most characteristic phase of *por*, and derives from the Latin *pro*. It expresses the purpose of an action more naturally and more vividly than the general and varied *a*-construction. Menéndez Pidal gives as the three concepts involved in *por*:<sup>1</sup>

1. *la falta de realización de la acción del infinitivo regido*
2. *el fin*
3. *el motivo*

This sums up in brief the most important functions of *por*, though each of the above subdivisions is sufficiently broad to deserve considerable individual attention. Yet these are the three basic senses of *por* that are seen so currently in Old Spanish. The first is largely confined to the verbs *ser*, *estar*, *auer*, *fincar*, and *yazer* (*li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343; *yazie por morirse*, Cron 717b13). It is also responsible in large part for the independent *por*-infinitive, such as *por poblar e pobladas*, SMill 477. The second is quite general, covering as did *a*, the transitives, intransitives, reflexives (*adobar*, *andar*, *guisarse*: *anda por la fe guerrear*, SLaur 29; *guisosse por yr a ueella*, Cron 38b19). The class of *por*-infinitives denoting *purpose* and depending on a whole clause is larger than that with any other preposition. The relation between the infinitive and the finite verb of the sentence may vary in intensity from that of object-infinitive, in which the relation is at its closest, to that of dependence on the whole clause, in which the relation is at its weakest. Examples of the more evident relations will be given below. The *por*-infinitive in the third sense mentioned above (*cause*) usually does not depend on any single verb (*era aquel puerto tenido por el mejor de toda Affrica, por estar y nauios en todo tiempo*, Cron 48b19).

<sup>1</sup> See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 303-307.

One territory in which *a* does not at all rival *por* is in use with adjectives and participles. This is one of the strongest classes of *por*-infinitives, while with *a* it is almost non-existent.

An illustration of the difficulty met in classifying instances of the *por*-infinitive is found in the listing by Meyer-Lübke<sup>1</sup> under *purpose* clauses of the following: *no lo querie nul hombre por derecho judgar, Por tu dormir con ella e nos yr a lidiar*, Alix 454; and *entraron en Estremadura por ser tierra rica*, Nov. ej., 27. The first of these citations offers a very delicate problem, but that *Por tu dormir* here expresses *purpose* seems to me highly improbable. It would be more natural to consider the whole clause introduced by *por* as being in apposition with *lo*, since it is the sense of the whole clause that is judged as not right. Indeed, it would be as good a construction, and certainly more regular, simply to omit the *por* entirely, in which case the infinitive would be considered as a substantive in apposition with *lo*, and a normal sentence result (cf. *lo que era peor de todo, uenir los dAffrica a Roma*, Cron 45a49, § 79). The second citation is fortunately much simpler than this, and permits easy recognition of the *por*-infinitive expressing the *cause* of the action (cf. *se preciauan por alañar*, Cron 431b31, § 56). The *por*-infinitive also expresses *concession*, and indicates the *means* of an action: *concession* in *Ca esto que uos queredes aun por seer uençudos, lo que Dios no quiera, podedes lo fazer en el cabo*, Cron 73b20; and the *means* of the action in *sy omne non gana prez por dezir o por fer*, Alix 71).

#### THE *POR*-INFINITIVE WITH A SUBSTANTIVE

47. There are certain cases in which the *por*-infinitive depends on a noun rather than on an individual verb. These are rare at best, and the relations involved are sometimes loose, but certain instances of infinitive usage can be explained by no other theory (e.g. *el plazdo por el reyno quitar*,

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 506.

Cid 392, cited by Menéndez Pidal). Other passages offering somewhat similar constructions are found as follows:

Puerta de pecadores por al çielo entrar *Himnos* 2. 1  
 el plazdo por el reyno quitar *Cid* 392  
 dos pedones solos por la puerta guardar *Cid* 686  
 Non es agora tiempo por en naves entrar *SOria* 159  
 Nol dolie so lazerio por las almas salvar *SMill* 282  
 por entrar alos cielos sangue faz el camino *Sac* 98  
 por depanar los buenos busca sienpre sendero *Alix* 1948

In the last citation above, *busca sendero* may be taken as governing *por depanar*, rather than the noun *sendero* alone. Of the same type is noted another *buscar* locution: *Por yr a Paraysobuscaualis carrera*, *SDom* 464. As can be seen in such cases, the infinitive but rarely offers clear evidence of depending on the noun alone.

#### THE POR-INFINITIVE DEPENDS ON AN ADJECTIVE

48. With adjectives *por* nearly always indicates *purpose*, and the infinitive is very rarely susceptible of a passive sense, as in *la corral es viunrosa, buena por alargar*, *Alix* 2109. Generally, when such a relation is to be expressed, the preposition *de* appears (*digno de adorar*, *SDom* 253). With these adjectives, the past participles of various verbs are included (*osado, pagado*, etc.), even though at times their verbal force somewhat exceeds their adjectival sense (*uenido*, etc.). The exact gradation of adjectival and of verbal force is of course indeterminate, though examples of both extremes are available. For instance, *osado* has lost most of its participial value, while *vestido* has little else: *por canpear a ellos sol non somos osados*, *Alix* 596; *Velmezes vestidos por sufrir las guarniziones*, *Cid* 3073. Only the more striking syntactical relations will be pointed out under the various adjectives and participles. The infinitive with *de*, *en*, *pora* and *para* is also found in adjectival constructions (*eran buenas pora ganar e deffender tierra*, *Cron* 22a3; *en veer muy çerteros*, *Sig* 55; *nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera*, *Alix* 799; *ligera de fazer*, *Cron* 420b11).

*Adjectives.*

**bueno** (also takes infinitive with *de*, *pora* and *para*).

buena por alargar *Alix* 2109

**digno** (used also with *de*-infinitive).

Asi mandas tus carnes, e assi las aguissas

Que por subir a los çielos tu digna te predigas *SOria* 36

**firme**.

Ellos por alargarse, los otros por redrarlos,

estauan todos firmes, señores e vasallos *Alix* 2054

**goloso**.

estaua cada vna por ganarla golosa *Alix* 326

**grande** (also cited by Menéndez Pidal as an adjective of *quantity* taking *por*-infinitive in Old Spanish, and *para* in the modern language).

grandes son los poderes por con ellos lidiar *Cid* 669

Grant serie la matheria por en ambos fablar *SLaur* 17

**plazentero**.

Por seguir tu conseio so muy bien plazentero *Sac* 42

**presto**.

prestos somos por conplir tu mandado *Alix* 195

presto fue Filotas por luego lo vengar *Alix* 999

presto estaua por los guardar sanos *Cron* 134a4

**sabroso** (employed also with *de*-infinitive).

Tienpo dulce e sabroso por abastir casamientos *Alix* 1930

**tal**.

sy fuesen de tal guisa por auer rremedidos *Alix* 1258

**tan** (though in this form an adverb of *degree*, I include it here from its natural association with adjectives of *quantity*. There is only one case).

ca non so tan letrado por fer otro latino *SDom* 2

*Participles.*

More variety of sense and of usefulness is found in the participles taking the *por*-infinitive than in the regular adjectives above. This might be expected from their having both verbal and adjectival force, thus facilitating many fine distinctions in function and connotation. Representatives of most of the other classes of verbs taking *por*-infinitive are noted here, such as *venido* for the intransitive verbs of movement, *enviado* for the transitives, etc. (*fui . . . enviado Por recibir martirio, seer crucificado*, Duelo 82; *por vengar mi despecho debes seer pagado*, Alix 2413). These instances and a number of others might well be cited under the verb itself rather than under the participle, but are given here for purposes of comparison. Certain participles allow themselves to be grouped together because of similarity of meaning, such as those equivalent to the English *prepared for*, *ready to*, etc. These naturally take the *por*-infinitive in the majority of instances, though they can, with a slight shift of sense, have the preposition *de*. They are fairly numerous, but with sufficient individual force to keep them from being real synonyms. Of these the most important are: *adobado*, *aguisado*, *aparecido*, *aparejado*, *guisado* (*por batalla le dar estava aguisado*, Alix 1165; *estava el bien guisado por yr a Espanna*, Cron 101b11). Others express in varying quality attitude toward or desire for something: *adenodado*, *asaborgado*, *aviuado*, *cuytado*, *demetido*, *denodado*, *endiablado*, *pagado*, *saborgado*. In any case, the prevailing concept in the *por*-infinitive with these participles is that of purpose, more definite than in *a*, less definite than in *pora* and *para*. Few of the participles noted below occur more than once (*viz.*, *aguisado*, *aparejado*, *denodado*, *guisado*). The *Crónica* shows a preference for the *pora*-infinitive, and the poetry for the construction with *por* (*aparejado pora foyr*, Cron 379b33; *fuieron aparejados por fer su cumplimento*, SDom 615). The *para*-infinitive is strangely lacking with participles, though used with adjectives (*buena . . . para librar sus moros*, Cron 746a50). *Andar* and *venir* give greater vividness of expres-

sion than *ser* and *estar* when used as auxiliaries with these participles (*por dar en Alixandre andauan acordados*, Alix 1339; *por feryr a Nicanor vino muy demetido*, Alix 1011).

**aconsejado.**

eran por foyr del todos aconsejados Alix 1387

**acordado** (noted also with *en*-infinitive).

por dar en Alixandre andauan acordados Alix 1339

**adebdado** (used with *de*-infinitive also).

Por façer el tu ruego mucho so adebdada Soria 154

**adenodado** (cf. *denodado* below).

Vynien adenodados por la villa entrar,  
por enforçar a Paris e a ella quemar,  
prender todos los otros e la villa hermar Alix 486  
por entrar a la isla fueron a denodados Alix 1983

**aguisado** (considerably the most frequent of these participles with the *por*-infinitive; also used with *de*-infinitive; cf. *guisado* below). The use of *mal* and *bien* with *aguisado* is particularly to be noted.

por defendernos somos mal aguisados Alix 873  
por fer buen bernaje estan mal aguisados Alix 949  
por tenprar el ayre todas bien aguisadas Alix 1521  
Seo mal aguisado por ante él paresçer Sig 64

Also: Alix 1288, 1437, 1815; Cid 2322.

**apareçido.**

¡estos casamientos non fuessen apareçidos,  
por consagrar con Myo Çid don Rodrigo! Cid 3356

**apareiado** (employed also with *de*- and *pora*-infinitives):

Por resçeibir la graçia estaban apareiados Loor 154  
fueron apareiados por fer su cumplimjento SDom 615

*por seer uençudos*, without doubt considerably enforcing the idea of *concession* that could be read into the *por*-infinitive.

Ca esto que uos queredes aun por seer uençudos, lo que Dios no quiera, podedes lo fazer en el cabo *Cron* 73b20

sera cosa guisada de no caer uos en culpa faziendo como deuedes, mas esperar perdon et gualardon aun por seer uençudos  
*Cron* 74a20

era la mas noble et mas onrrada uilla de tiempo antigo por seer pequenna mas que otra cibdad que fuesse en toda Asia  
*Cron* 324a10

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH POR A

59. The origin of the *pore*-infinitive was evidently in the frequent use of *por* and *a* together, *por* alone not being definite enough to indicate the intended relation between the infinitive and the verb or clause on which it depended. The function of *a* was predominantly *goal*, while that of *por* was *purpose*. If the two were put together there was effected a very useful combination which fitted more accurately into the sense of numerous phrases than either preposition alone. The combination was not limited to taking the infinitive, but was allowed to govern a direct or indirect object. Menéndez Pidal<sup>1</sup> states it thus: "En vez de *por* para expresar el fin, se usa *pore* cuando es necesaria la preposición *a* que rija un complemento: *pore myo Çid e alos sos a manos los tomar*, *Cid* 701." With *a* taking an indirect object, *pore* appears in *pore cristianos la dar*, *Cid* 1191, 892, 1616. In such cases, the separation into *por a* is quite evident. It was, in general of course, a matter of indifference to the scribes whether the two words were written *pore* or *por a*. As the use of the prepositions together increased, they came to be considered as a unit, and were employed where *a* no longer indicated the object relation mentioned by Menéndez Pidal above (*pore con ellos casar*, *Cid* 1882, 3449). The fact that it was a progressive construction is indicated by a comparison of the use of *pore*-infinitives in the

<sup>1</sup> *Cid*, § 161, 5.



*Cid* with those in the *Crónica*. The number of examples from the *Cid* is, indeed, almost negligible, while in the *Crónica* are found the great majority of the instances cited below. The *pora*-infinitive was permitted by the authors of the *Crónica* to usurp no small part of the legitimate territory of the construction with *por*. It could not, of course, encroach on those uses of *por* that had nothing to do with the original concept of *purpose* generally expressed by *por*. Thus the senses of *por* including *cause*, *means*, *concession*, etc. stood firm. As a rule, there is a notable difference between *por* and *pora* even when similarly governed, the ideas of *suitable to*, *such as to* (expressing a *characteristic*), being much more current in the *pora*-infinitive (see particularly its use with adjectives and nouns: *semeiaua . . . ninno aun pora gouernar el regno*, Cron 709a38; *tiempo pora casar*, Cron 601a43). Though rarely met in our texts outside of the *Crónica*, and not offering so varied a field as *por*, yet *pora* is a successful rival of *por* in its most common uses. It even surpasses *por* in one field, i.e. with adjectives such as *acucioso*, *bueno* and *conuiniente* (*sotil . . . pora aprender toda arte*, Cron 138a18; *buenas pora ganar . . . tierra*, Cron 22a3).

#### THE PORA-INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS

60. As was also true of *por*, the class of *pora*-infinitives clearly dependent on nouns is small in comparison with other infinitive constructions with *pora*. It is limited to about five nouns, the only frequent one of which is *logar*. In these examples, the difference can be felt between the *pora*-construction and that with *por* in the same places (e.g. with *tiempo* in *Non es agora tiempo por en naves entrar*, Soria 159; *non son en tiempo pora casar*, Cron 601a43; it is not *time now to enter* boats; they are not at a *time suitable for marrying*).

**bestia.**

non fincara ya en la villa bestia pora caualgar Cron 586a29

**edat.**

quando la ninna fuesse de edat pora casar Cron 33a41

**logar.**

un logar pora lidiar Cron 148a15  
 no era Roma logar pora seer desamparada Cron...  
 alli era lugar pora dezirse . . . Cron 625b22  
 logares pora lidiar Cron 695b10

**ninno.**

semeiaua . . . ninno aun pora gouernar el regno Cron 709a38

## THE PORA-INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES

61. With the exception of a few sporadic occurrences in the *Alixandre* and a doubtful one in the *Cid* (*buenos e valientes pora mio Cid huyar*, *Cid* 892, where the *a* of *pora* may well be the personal accusative sign), available instances of *pora*-infinitive with adjectives all come from the *Crónica*. Poetry in general affected the *por*-construction. The total number of adjectives with *pora* is half again greater than with *por*, showing that at least the authors of the *Crónica* considered *pora* more appropriate for such use than *por*. It is also seen that they are more varied in sense, and are more generally representative of the whole group of adjectives than they were with *por* (*pora*: *acucioso*, *liuiano*, *noble*, *sabio*, *sano*, *sotil*, *tierno*, etc.; *por*: *tan*, *tal*, *sabroso*, *grande*, etc.). This is not surprising in view of the fact that the adjective regularly expresses a *characteristic*, and this is one of the uses most normal to the *pora*-infinitive as well (see § 59 above). The only individual adjectives found with both prepositions are *bueno*, *firme*, and *presto* (*pora morir e pora uencer firme estaua el*, Cron 702a8; *Ellos por alargarse, los otros por redrarlos, estauan todos firmes*, Alix 2054; *serien mas prestos pora en armas entrar*, Alix 1308; *estaua presto por los guardar sanos*, Cron 134a4).

*Adjectives.***acucioso.**

acucioso pora regebir huespedes Cron 277a29  
 acuciosa pora enderençar el regno Cron 492a42

**bueno** (also takes infinitive constructions with *de*, *por* and *para*).

eran buenos pora ganar con ellos *Cron* 437b14

eran buenas pora ganar e deffender tierra *Cron* 22a3

**conuiniente.**

logar conuiniente pora enxerir aqui la estoria del regno de  
Portogal *Cron* 650a51

**liuiano** (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

pora trayer liuianas *Aliz* 970

**noble.**

omne muy noble pora gouernar ell imperio *Cron* 172a45

fue muy noble de spirito pora dezir las cosas *Cron* 277a27

**presto** (the most frequent adjective taking the infinitive in the *por-pora-para* group).

serien mas prestos pora en armas entrar *Aliz* 1308

presto era el otro pora luego lo conplir *Aliz* 1977

parosse guisado et presto pora entrar en su camino *Cron* 530a29

estaua el presto pora fazer su confession *Cron* 662a44

**sabio.**

omne muy sabio pora gouernar ell imperio *Cron* 172a13

**sano.**

Son las aguas muy sanas por a bestias abeurar *Aliz* 1447

**seguro** (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

buen puerto de mar et seguro pora estar y naues *Cron* 287a34

**sesudo.**

pora traer su fazienda bien, era muy sesudo *Cron* 629b20

**sotil.**

Era muy sotil . . . pora aprender toda arte *Cron* 138a18

**tarde.**

tarde es ya este tiempo pora perdonar *Cron* 136a40

**tierno.**

ell rey maguer que aun tierno pora seer fuerte . . . *Cron*  
710b38

**valiente (u-).**

buenos e valientes pora mio Çid huyar *Cid* 892  
 et era mas ualiente que los mancebos pora lidiar *Cron* 132a2

**uieio.**

deuiera seer alçado por emperador, ca ell era uieio pora conseiar  
*Cron* 132a2

*Participles.*

Only about half as many past participles take the *pora*-infinitive as are noted with the *por*-infinitive. Probably this is due at least in part to the fact that past participles usually had a stronger verbal than adjectival force, and verbs in general affected the *por*-infinitive more often than that with *para*. The usual prepositional functions for *a*, *por*, *para*, *para* of *purpose* and *goal* are evident in the examples cited below (*eran dados para disputar*, *Cron* 190a6; *uio los castellanos movidos para uencerse*, *Cron* 416a10). As with *por*, the verbs particularly well represented here are those indicating some sort of *preparedness* (*apareiado*, *aparellado*, *guarnido*, *guisado*, etc.), and those expressing *inclination*, *desire* and related emotions (*abiuido*, *dado*, *denodado*, *desesperado*, etc.).

**adobado.**

Ellos son adobados pora cumplir todo lo so *Cid* 3489

**amolado.**

todos por a feryr los estauan amolados *Aliz* 956

**ap(p)areiado** (also takes infinitives with *por* and *de*).

appareiado pora morir *Cron* 277a37

appareiado pora foyr *Cron* 379b33

prestos et apareiados pora venir *Cron* 607b20

**aparellado** (see *appareiado* above).

todos por a seruirte somos aparelados *Aliz* 1648

**armado.**

armados pora ayudar el Çid *Cron* 615a27

**abiuido** (also takes the infinitive with *por* and *en*).

fueron por a lidiar todos mas abiuidos *Aliz* 2031

**dado.**

The *a* component of *pora* can be clearly felt in the citation below (cf. English *given to disputing*):

eran dados pora disputar *Cron* 190a6

**denodado** (also used with *por*-infinitive).

por a lidiar la villa fue muy mas denodado *Aliz* 1108

eran por a ferir todos tan denodados *Aliz* 2028

**desesperado** (takes *de*-infinitive also). In this instance the *pora*-infinitive expresses *degree* rather than the usual *purpose*:

eran ya desesperados pora morir *Cron* 30b15

**guarnido.**

estaua mui bien guarnido . . . pora salir *Cron* 564a3

**guisado** (used with *de*- and *por*-infinitives as well).

guisado pora recibir la su fe *Cron* 103a23

no estauan apercebudos ni guisados pora deffenderse darmas  
*Cron* 49b2

muy guisadas . . . pora deffender los usos *Cron* 103b30

fueron guisados pora yr contra Vologeso *Cron* 153a47

omnes darmas guisados pora lidiar *Cron* 220a22

**mouido** (used also with the *por*-infinitive).

era pora tornarse toda la gente mouida *Aliz* 410

uio los castellanos mouidos pora uencerse *Cron* 416a10

mouido pora yr en aquella cruzada *Cron* 544a3

**parado.**

somos parados pora morir *Cron* 701b52

**soffrido** (takes also the infinitive with *en*).

non era pacient nin soffrido pora oyr las razones *Cron* 387b24

**THE PORA-INFINITIVE WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS OF MOTION**

62. This group is numerically much weaker than the corresponding group with *por*-infinitive both in verbs and in individual examples. As a class, although the verbs of motion are not found as often with the *pora*- as with the *por*-construction, when

so used the sense is more *precised* than with *por*. It is a notable fact that all but one of the examples cited below come from the *Crónica*, and the one exception is *yva pora senbrar*, Alix 2528. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that *pora* was most fitting for use with verbs of motion because of its indication of *goal* (its *-a* indicating direction *toward* something) while *por* could only express *purpose* with them. *Pora*-constructions developed, however, late in our period, thus largely explaining the favor enjoyed by them in the *Crónica* and their apparent lack of favor elsewhere.

Numerous instances of the *pora*-infinitive are found depending on a clause of *goal*, the main verb of which is a verb of motion. As indicated under the *por*-infinitive above (§ 53), such cases closely resemble the regular construction with these verbs:

entraran en ella pora defenderla *Cron* 365a27  
 descendiendo contra mar . . . pora fazer dalli caualgadas et  
 guerrear la tierra *Cron* 534b45  
 llegaron alli . . . pora yrse con el *Cron* 524a47  
 fuesse contra Salamanca pora saber que fazie el rey *Cron* 373a19

#### caualgar.

The *a*-infinitive is also noted with *caualgar*.

Los infantes caualgaron estonces pora yr fazer aquello *Cron* 438a39  
 el caualgo luego et sus fijos pora yrse pora alla *Cron* 516b12  
 caualgo pora uenirse a la frontera *Cron* 541b4

#### contender.

Like other verbs of *striving* and *seeking* (*trabaiarse*, *buscar*, etc.) *contender* considerably varies its infinitive relations (i.e. with *de*, *por* and *en* as well as with *pora*).

comenzaron luego a contender pora auer la guardia del rey  
 ninno *Cron* 709b5

#### enderesçar (-nç-).

The infinitives with *por* and *a* also occur.

enderesçaron pora yr a las vistas *Cron* 600a50  
 enderesçaron pora yr a las vistas *Cron* 600b9  
 enderenço pora yr a Valencia *Cron* 551b29

**yr.**

The combination of *goal* and *purpose* in the *pora*-infinitive is well evidenced in the examples of this verb. The pure infinitive and that with *a*, *por* and *para* are likewise found with *yr*. The *pora*-infinitive may depend on an *yr*-clause of *goal* rather than on *yr* alone (*yuan ellos a su palacio pora fablar con ell*, Cron 463a38; and *Cron 339b19, 465b47, 704a3*).

fue otra uez pora lidiar con ellos Cron 28a23

fue derechamientre pora destroyr Galizia Cron 29a54

. . . que fuessen todos con la condessa pora prouar sil podrien sacar Cron 420b18

ellos yendo ya pora ayudarlos Cron 440a4

**mouer.**

As an intransitive, *mouer* also takes the infinitive pure and with *a*. The transitive *mouer* takes the pure and *a*-infinitives, the reflexive those with *a* and *pora*.

quiso mouer pora yr contra Espanna Cron 101b8

**passar.**

Infinitive constructions also occur with *a* and without preposition.

quisieron passar pora andalla por ueer si era aun meior que aquella Cron 217a4

**sal(1)ir.**

The pure, *a*- and *pora*-infinitive constructions occur with this verb.

salieron los de dentro pora lidiar con ellos Cron 463b4

salio . . . pora yr degollar el carnero Cron 504a51

sallio . . . pora confirmar el pleito con el Cron 587b34

. . . que seliessen pora yr a la batalla Cron 689a40

**tornar.**

The pure, *a*-, *de*-, *pora*- and *en*-infinitives are also noted with *tornar* as an intransitive verb; the *a*-, *de*- and *para*-infinitives with *tornar* as a reflexive; the *a*-infinitive with *tornar* only as a transitive. No iteration appears in *tornar* in this instance:

torno pora acorrer a los suyos Cron 558a17



**uenir.**

This verb is not found as frequently with *pora-* as with *por-* infinitive. Instances of the *pora*-construction with *uenir* are taken from the *Crónica* only, while a large part of those having *por* come from the *Cid*, etc. The infinitive pure, as well as with *de*, *a* and *por*, is also noted with *uenir*. Cases of dependence on goal clauses with *uenir*: *Cron* 400a44, 443b51, 516b34, 527b13, 693b18.

uinieron pora auer batalla con ell, et matarle o echarle de la  
tierra *Cron* 339b39  
uinieron pora acorrer a los del castiello *Cron* 406b49  
uinie . . . pora correrle la tierra *Cron* 415b42, 449b5

**THE PORA-INFINITIVE WITH REFLEXIVE VERBS**

63. Approximately the same number of reflexive verbs take *pora* as *por* with the infinitive, though in neither class is the number of examples for each verb very large. In this section as in the last, all except one of the citations are from the *Crónica* (*mozos pora lidiar toda la criazon*, Alix 209). But while the *Crónica* particularly affects *pora* with the infinitive, it does not at all neglect *por*. At least half of the instances with *por*-infinitive come from this prose text. In both the *por-* and *pora-*groups are noted *ayuntarse*, *guisarse* and *levantarse*, *guisarse* being used the most frequently (*guisosse por yr a ueerla*, *Cron* 38b19; *levantosse por yr su uia*, *Cron* 146a36; for corresponding *pora*-constructions, see individual verbs below). A greater proportion of reflexives implying motion, hence naturally favoring the goal of *a* and *pora*, is found in this group than in the corresponding *por*-group (e.g. *ayuntarse*, *esforçarse*, *levantarse*, *mouerse* and *partirse* below).

**aguisarse.**

No other infinitive uses occur with the reflexive form of this verb, but as a transitive *aguisar* takes the *por*-infinitive also. The simple *guisarse* is noted frequently with *por-*, *pora-* and *para*-constructions.

aguisosse pora yr a so hermano *Cron* 23a34

**ayuntarse.**

*Ayuntarse* also takes the *a-* and *por-*infinitives.

se ayuntaran . . . pora amparar el castiello *Cron* 287b7

**esforçarse.**

*De*, *a* and *pora* are noted with the infinitive in *esforçarse* locutions.

non dexauan de esforçarse pora sobir por las pennas a arriba  
*Cron* 71a8

**guisarse.**

*De*, *por* and *para* are found in other infinitive uses of *guisarse*.

guisosse pora yr a Carthago *Cron* 25b15, 153a37, 154a3

guisosse pora lidiar *Cron* 159a22

estauan y guisados pora guardar las entradas de Affrica *Cron* 53a17

en guisando se pora alçar otra uez *Cron* 204b27

se guiso pora yrle ganar *Cron* 245a38

**leuantarse.**

*Leuantarse* also takes the pure infinitive, as well as that with *de*, *a* and *por*.

se non osarien alçar nin leuantar pora correrle la tierra *Cron* 644a19

**mouerse.**

The *a-*infinitive also occurs with *mouerse*.

mouiosse . . . pora yr lidiar con ell *Cron* 245a22

mouios pora lidiar toda la criazon *Aliz* 209

**pararse.**

As a transitive, *parar* is used once with the *para-*infinitive.

non auien con quien se parar pora defenderse *Cron* 365a35

**partirse.**

It is a conspicuous fact that no other infinitive construction of *partir* is noted in these texts, whether as an intransitive or as a reflexive verb, except the *de* of separation.

partieron se luego pora yr robar las tierras de Italia *Cron* 230a40

a *lack of realization* of the action of the infinitive (§ 54), and that the related expression of immediate *futurity* also made itself felt. For the *pora*-infinitive no such conditions are evidenced. There is a much stronger element of *purpose* expressed in *pora*, and a much lesser degree of *futurity* and *lack of realization*. In *Cron* 104b17 is to be remarked the closest approximation of the *pora*- to the *por*-infinitive: *ouieron siempre los de Roma pora uencer*. Even here *pora uencer* expresses little more of *futurity* than would the *a*-infinitive, if so used. *Purpose* is decidedly evident in the other three instances of *auer* with *pora*-infinitive.

todos auien vn cuer pora trayer las manos *Aliz* 1028

Avien pora servirla meior devoçion *Mil* 618

Avia pora mi, avia pora dar *Mil* 760

#### **fincar.**

Along with *auer* and *ser* taking the *por*-infinitive was mentioned *fincar* fulfilling a similar function (i.e. that of expressing *futurity* or *lack of realization*; cf. § 54). *Fincar* with *pora*-infinitive occurs but twice, and then rather with a *purpose* sense than that noted for the *por*-infinitive:

pora verter su agua fincoli el forado *Mil* 213

assi que non finque aqui ninguno sinon dos peones pora guardar la puerta *Cron* 528a17

**menguar** (no other infinitive uses noted).

*Purpose* constructions are normal with this type of verb (cf. modern *me falta dinero para viajar*).

Mas pora fer tal pasta menguabalís farina *Mil* 274

#### **ser.**

A slightly different situation is to be remarked in *ser* with the *pora*-infinitive. This construction has more of the *futurity* of the *por*-infinitive, as well as a sense that is best rendered into English by *fit to*, *able to*, *of such a kind as to* (*los necios que no eran pora salir*, *Cron* 77a51). These delicate *nuances* are derived from the original *a*-function of *goal*, with added force

given by the *por*-element of *purpose* in *pora*. A closer approximation than usual of the *futurity* so common in *auer* and *ser* with *por*-infinitive is evident in *el dia que fino era aun pora uenir*, Cron 708a28.

- fueron pora seruirle todos *Aliz* 11  
 nin era por a fuyr nin era por a tornar *Aliz* 1397  
 Non serie por a asmar la cuenta de las gentes *Aliz* 1512  
 mataron sos padres . . . e todos los que no eran pora ayudar  
 se darmas *Cron* 17a24  
 no era pora guerra ni pora gouernar la tierra *Cron* 132b52  
 no era ya pora gouernar bien ell imperio *Cron* 178a46  
 no eran pora seruir sennor *Cron* 180a29  
 se uio tan maltrecho de la enfermedat que no era ya pora andar  
 en guerras *Cron* 213a1  
 non son pora casar con ellas *Cron* 601a44  
 fasta que fuesse pora mantener regno *Cron* 644a34  
 si nos dotra manera non punnamos del vengar, non somos pora  
 paresçer antel *Cron* 610a46

#### THE *PORA*-INFINITIVE DEPENDS ON A CLAUSE

66. In § 53 were discussed in detail various types of the *por*-infinitive depending on a clause as a whole instead of on a single verb. The same facts are in general true for the *pora*-infinitive as for that with *por*. A not infrequent type is *llegaron alli a Sant Pedro a ell aquel dia cient et quinze caualleros pora yrse con el*, Cron 524a47, where the goal of the arriving being already mentioned, the *pora*-infinitive loses the prime function it has with verbs of motion such as *llegar* (e.g. *quiso mouer pora yr contra Espanna*, Cron 101b8). The close dependence of the *pora*-infinitive on the main verb is evident in *ellos yendo ya pora ayudarlos*, Cron 440a4, as against the very loose construction of *Despues desto un dia fuesse el rey Almemon pora su huerta con grand companna de moros pora auer y su solaz*, Cron 504a19. Striking illustration of the parallelism of *pora* with the infinitive and *pora* with a noun (indicating the goal of the action) is found in the citation above and in: *tornosse pora*

*Italia pora predicar*, Cron 251a46; *tornose pora Germania pora guisearse*, Cron 354a18. The separate and the collective force of the component parts of *pora* is to be remarked in *fuesse pora Carmona et a Sevilla pora conquerirlas*, Cron 465b47.

Methieronse ennas naves pora Acre passar *Mil* 588  
 socauaron el muro pora ellos plegar *Aliz* 213  
 dio con ella en Asia pora aprender ventura *Aliz* 255  
 leuantaronsse contra las otras yentes uezinass pora lidiar con  
 ellas e conquerirlas *Cron* 219a27  
 allegaronse todos en uno pora correr la tierra, *Cron* 335b32  
 . . . quel ayudassen contra Abdalla pora darle batalla *Cron*  
 338b18  
 entraran en ella pora defenderla *Cron* 365a27  
 alçarase y pora cobrar el regno *Cron* 389b42  
 entro en aquel logar . . . pora crebantar el su monumento  
*Cron* 448b47  
 uiniera en Santa Maria pora saluar el mundo *Cron* 516b34

Also: *Cron* 347b3, 400a44, 443b51, 448b47, 463a38, 527b13, 704a3.

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH PARA

67. In *para*<sup>1</sup> Old Spanish possessed a derivative of *per ad* very similar to *pora*, the much more frequent derivative of *pro ad* (compare with *pora-* and *para-*uses the archaic and illiterate English *for to* with infinitive, as in Luke VII, 25: *What went ye out for to see?*). From the texts covered by this study, a comparison between the two can hardly be made, especially in the matter of frequency, so far overshadowed was *para* by *pora*. As shown in the last few sections, *pora* was a successful rival of *por* in the favor of the authors of the *Crónica* for the indication of goal and purpose. But *para* did not rival *pora*, much less *por*, in this or any other of our texts. Per Abbat uses *para* only once, and then in place of *pora*:<sup>2</sup> *para Calatayuth quanto puede se va*, Cid 775. The *Alizandre* offers a few sporadic instances of *para*-infinitive, but the *Crónica* again comes to the rescue with at least enough evidence to show increasing popular

<sup>1</sup> Cornu, *Romania* X, p. 94, and Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, para.

favor for the *para*-construction. It is true that the same classes of verbs are noted with *para* as with *pora*, but instead of finding well-rounded and representative groups, only sporadic and occasional instances are at hand. The one group that might be expected to be strong, even with *para*, is that of the intransitive verbs of motion, but even here there are no regular examples of the construction at hand. Among the reflexives, there are only three verbs noted with *para*-infinitive: *apartarse*, *guisarse* and *tornarse*. Probably one reason for the infrequency of *para* was the very infrequent occurrence of *par*<sup>1</sup> (as used in oaths, etc. *par la cabeça mia*, Alix 652), while *por* was so generally used that *pora* was, for a considerable time, carried along with it. The later success of *para* was perhaps due at least in part to the fact that, if any clear distinction between *por* and the composed prepositions with *a* was subconsciously sought, it was much less confusing to use *para* than *pora* because of the too evident provenience of the latter.

An interesting and unique instance of *ser* with *para*-infinitive is noted in *SDom* 268, illustrating the function of *goal* in the *a* of *para*, as well as the *futurity* discussed for the *por*-infinitive with *ser*: *non fue para conplir lo el Abbat perezoso*.

The one passage in which the *para*-infinitive depends on a *goal* clause is *el fuese para el rey don Fernando a Toledo para meter rrecua a la frontera*, Cron 737b43.

#### THE PARA-INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES

68. At least five adjectives are noted with the *para*-infinitive, this group forming one of the strongest of the *para*-constructions at this time. In comparison with *pora*, and even with *por* which did not particularly affect use with adjectives, the *para*-infinitive is still conspicuously weak in numbers. Past participles formed a very important type of adjective construction under the *por-pora* groups. This type of infinitive use is entirely lacking for *para*.

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 189.

bueno (used also with *de*, *por* and *pora*). The infinitive as subject is approximated in *Akiz* 1449 (cf. *claro* below).

bueno para poder fincar en su onrra . . . et para librar sus moros *Cron* 746a50

el jaspis que es bueno para omne lo traher *Akiz* 1449

*claro*.

mas claro que espello para onbre se veyer *Akiz* 1449

*ligero* (also takes the *de*-infinitive).

nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera *Akiz* 799

*meior*.

entendiendo quel era meior la fincada que la yda . . . para ençimar su conquista *Cron* 748b27

*tal* (used also with *por*-infinitive).

tenien que no auie ninguno dellos tal para uengallos de Annibal *Cron* 24b7

#### THE PARA-INFINITIVE WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS OF MOTION

69. No regular examples of the *para*-infinitive with intransitive verbs of motion are at hand, although this construction may well be considered a most characteristic type with *a*, *por* and *pora*. This fact clearly emphasizes the paucity of available examples with *para*, not any incongruity in its use with the intransitives. In *esi tiempo non era allegado Para recibir soldada*, *Soria* 66, the *para*-infinitive depends on *tiempo* rather than on *era allegado*. For an instance of the *para*-infinitive depending on a *goal* clause, in which *yr* is the main verb, see §67.

#### THE PARA-INFINITIVE WITH REFLEXIVE VERBS

70. As was true of the intransitive verbs of motion cited above, so here with the reflexives, there are only three verbs to represent the group. These are, however, more actually representative of their type than are those noted under the other groups since each of the three reflexives is well known



with other prepositions than *para*. One of these (*guisarse*) offers four examples, which must be considered noteworthy for *para* at this period. All the citations below come from the *Crónica*.

**apartarse.**

The *a*-infinitive is also found with *apartarse*.

se quisieron . . . apartar para amostrar su orgul Cron 758b38

**guisarse.**

*De*, *por* and *pora* are also noted with *guisarse* in infinitive constructions.

guisandose para venir Cron 355a43

se guisaua para pasar alla et yr sobre ellos Cron 770b46

guisosse para yr taiar Carmona Cron 749a2

para alla pasar se guisaua Cron 770b50

**tornarse.**

As reflexive or intransitive, this verb is found with all the prepositions indicating *goal* and *purpose*.

se torno para guisarse Cron 741b1

### THE PARA-INFINITIVE WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS

71. Another small group, with varied though few examples, is this of the transitive verbs with *para*-infinitive. The following passage might perhaps better be cited as a sporadic instance of the noun with infinitive than under the transitive verbs, since the *para*-infinitive modifies the sense of *cabeça* with the *suitable to*, *such as to*, sense noted for the *pora*-infinitive: *non he cabeça para andar sin cofia*, Cron 752a42 (*no era ya pora andar en guerras*, Cron 213a1). *Tener oio*, on the other hand, is a regular verb and noun phrase governing the *para*-infinitive. *Parar* is most representative of the usual class of verbs belonging to this group. This type of infinitive construction of course easily becomes the ordinary case of the infinitive depending on a clause (see § 50).

**parar.**

This is a very representative verb of the transitive type. *Pora*-infinitive occurs with *parar*; the *pora*- and *a*-constructions with *pararse*. The phrase *parar azes* is also used in *las azes que auien paradas pora lidiar*, Cron 221b33.

fizieron nuevas de parar azes para los cometer Cron 759a10

**reçebir.**

No other infinitive uses are noted with *reçebir*.

A ti reçebió Don Xpo para ser su esposa Loor 204

**tener oio.**

*Pora*-infinitive is also used with *tener*, but not with a verb and noun phrase (*Teniela el buen omne non pora cavalgar, Mas pora los mezquinos lenna acarrear*, SMill 272).

Allen mar tenie oio para pasar Cron 770b27

THE INFINITIVE WITH **EN**

72. Diez<sup>1</sup> considers the Romance use of the infinitive with *en* to correspond in general to the Latin *in* with the gerund or participle (e.g. *constans in amicis laudandis*). Meyer-Lübke shows<sup>2</sup> that the extension of *en* is more notable in Spanish and Portuguese than elsewhere. Its sense can readily be understood in practically all instances, for it has preserved its primitive meaning and function better than most other prepositions. However, it has extended its sense to include the mental fields as well as the physical (*en sus pensamientos*),<sup>3</sup> and to refer to the surface of things as well as to the inside (*en la mesa*). The preposition *en* was used with the gerund more commonly than with the infinitive in the intermediate stages between Latin and Romance (as in modern French *en parlant à mes amis*). The fact that the infinitive came to replace the gerund to such an extent with *en* in Old Spanish was probably due to the ever increasing prevalence of infinitive constructions in general in this language. Compared with the necessarily restricted

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram.* III, § 435.

<sup>3</sup> See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 298.

field of the gerund, the infinitive could be utilized in an almost unlimited variety of ways. There was also the advantage that *en* had in itself most of the force of the gerund, and that if used with the infinitive a new field was opened for development, while if used with the gerund a mere strengthening of the same function resulted. One of the normal functions of the *en*-infinitive was to indicate the accompanying circumstances of an action (*están desauenidos en creer muchas malas creencias*, Cron 185a17). This will be remarked in many of the citations below. The *en*-infinitive currently answers the questions *where* and *how* (*metio en conjurarlo mucho maior finencia*, SDom 697; *auiuado en predigar*, Cron 277a32). From its original sense of *in, into*, it comes to have a very real function of *goal*, not so frequent as in *a, pora*, etc., but nevertheless easily recognized (e.g. with *punnar en* and *contender en*). The use of the *en*-infinitive with such phrases as *meter femencia*, *meter mano*, where the sense of the transitive *meter* determines the use of *en*, is particularly noteworthy (e.g. *metio mientes en meiorar su tierra*, Cron 294a48). Its fitness for answering the question *how* permits it in some cases to indicate the *means* of an action, as with the reflexives *deleitarse* and *darse vagar*. But *en* is particularly appropriate for use with adjectives (see following section: e.g. *En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes*, Mil 853; *crudos eran en mal fazer*, Cron 609a24).

#### THE EN-INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES

73. One of the most normal constructions of the *en*-infinitive is with adjectives, since with them it indicates *how* the action of the infinitive is applicable to the sense of the adjective (*muy sutil en assacar de suyo cosas nuevas*, Cron 121b48; *sabios . . . en deffender nuestra ley*, Cron 158a3). Delicate shades of other meanings can at times be felt in the *en*-infinitive (*place where, means, time*), particularly with participles which partake of the sense of the simple verb (*auiuado en predigar*, Cron 277a32; *engannada en te combater*, Cron 133b19). Even with participles the expression of *manner* is decidedly predominant in the *en*-

infinitive, other senses merging imperceptibly into this one. The *de*-infinitive most nearly approaches the *en*-construction with adjectives, but is not so strong or individual in prepositional force (*liviano de creer el mal*, Cron 451a3; *franque en dar su auer*, Cron 477b7). The *de*-infinitive is quite frequently susceptible of passive force, while activity is most often postulated by the *en*-infinitive (*en veer muy çerteros*, Sig 55; *En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes*, Mil 853; *ligera de fazer*, Cron 420b11; *serie muy grieue cosa de contar*, Cron 20a46). Comparatively few of the adjectives below are noted with other than the *en*-infinitive (exc. *sabio*, *sabidor*, *aviuado*, etc.). The best single illustration of the use of the *en*-infinitive with adjectives is found in *Mil* 404:

Si en fer el peccado fueron çiegos e botos,  
Fueron en emendarlo firmes e muy devotos.

(a) *Adjectives.*

**ardiente.**

En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes *Mil* 853

(bien) **andante.**

yo fuy bien andante en conbrar a uos, et uos fuestes bien andante  
en cobrar a mi *Cron* 618a44

**çertero.**

en veer muy çerteros *Sig* 55

**crudo.**

ellos cada uegada mas crudos eran en mal fazer *Cron* 609a24

**flaco.**

The citation below is of interest by reason of the modification of the adjective as well as the use of subject and object with the *en*-infinitive.

por se no mostrar por flaco de coraçon en lo uencer amor de  
mugier *Cron* 123a42

**franque.**

muy franque en soltar los pechos *Cron* 142a53

franque en dar su auer *Cron* 477b7

franque en partir et dar su auer *Cron* 478b49

**piadoso.**

fue tan piadoso . . . en la onrar et en uenir a su mandado,  
et en le dar et otorgarle todo quanto ella querie *Cron* 162a29

**sabidor** (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

En dar conseios malos era muy sabidor *Mil* 723

**sabio** (also takes *pora*-infinitive).

sabios en el saber . . . et en deffender nuestra ley *Cron* 158a2

**sobeio.**

Avinie bien sobeio en leer, en cantar *SLaur* 21

**sotil.**

muy sotil en assacar de suyo cosas nuevas *Cron* 121b49

**uagaroso.**

era muy uagaroso en dar las dignidades *Cron* 137a38

**(b) Participles.****acordado** (noted also with *por*-infinitive).

En saludar a ella era bien acordado *Mil* 102

En prender el su seso fueron bien acordados *SLaur* 4

**auiuado** (infinitive constructions with *por* and *pora* also occur).

auiuado en predigar *Cron* 277a32

**complido.**

era complido en dezir, et en fazer, et en dar, et en penssar todos  
los bienes *Cron* 692b19

**desauenido.**

estan desauenidos en creer muchas malas creencias *Cron* 185a17

**engannado.**

engannada . . . en te combater *Cron* 133b19

**granado.**

granado en dar elmosnas *Cron* 277a29

granado en dar de su auer *Cron* 278a6

**sofrido** (the *pora*-infinitive is also used with *sofrido*).

en comer sofrido *Cron* 277a36

## THE EN-INFINITIVE WITH METER AND PONER

74. These two verbs are the most important representatives of the type of transitive verbs having an object with dependent *en*-infinitive. There is only one example of *poner* so used, but this is a normal illustration of the principle involved:

Ponian toda femençia en fer a Dios serviçio *SOría* 13

In this instance, *en* has an almost literal sense of *in, into*, thus preserving its most primitive and inherent force. *Meter* likewise keeps this normal force for *en* in all the various locutions cited below, resembling very closely that of *poner* above. The most frequent single locution noted is *meter femençia en* (*En buscarli muerte mala metien toda femençia*, *Mil* 378). As was true of the *en*-infinitive with adjectives, there is also for these *meter* locutions a corresponding *de*-infinitive construction. Here again the relative *de* introduces practically an object-infinitive (. . . *que uos meta en coraçon de sacarle ende*, *Cron* 355a20). In one instance, the pronoun *lo* takes the place of the substantive with *meter*: *lo que meter podiesse en captiuos sacar*, *SDom* 363. **meter cura.**

en guardar aellos metia toda su cura *SDom* 18

**meter femençia.**

En laudar los sos fechos metien toda femençia *Mil* 27

En buscarli serviçio methie toda femençia *Mil* 50

En buscarli muerte mala metien toda femençia *Mil* 378

metio en conjurarlo mucho maior fimençia *SDom* 697

en fer aDios seruicio methia toda femençia *SDom* 326

grand femencia metio ell en fazerla *Cron* 346b46, 347b16

**meter mano.**

metiera mano en robar las eglesias *Cron* 292b13

**meter mientes.**

metio mientes en meiorar su tierra *Cron* 294a48

**meter mission.**

En cumplir con su oficio metien toda mission *SLaur* 5

**meter voluntad.**

metie en complirlo toda su voluntad *SDom* 263

## VERBS WITHOUT OBJECT TAKING EN-INFINITIVE

75. In this group are included all the verbs taking *en*-infinitive that do not have an object present such as was discussed under *meter* and *poner* in the section above (*metio en conjurarlo mucho maior fimençia*, SDom 697). Several of these verbs are real intransitives that do not take a direct object under any circumstances (*pesar*, *estar*, *valer*), while others will be found that occur quite frequently with such an object (*dubdar*, *cuydar*). It will be found that in nearly all instances with these verbs, the *en*-infinitive indicates the *manner* of the action (as it does with adjectives, etc.) and rarely has its literal sense of *in*, *into*, noted with the transitive *meter* and *poner*. The *de*-infinitive is perhaps the nearest approach among the prepositional uses to the *en*-construction with these verbs, yet here the object relation predominates with *de*, while with *en* that of *manner* and *goal* are more conspicuous (in the end coming to a moderate similarity of sense: *siempre contiene de valer a cuitados*, Mil 623; *les era mester de contender en tenerse et non caer*, Cron 71a22; *Dixol que non dubdase de fer su maestria*, Alix 2230; *non dubdas en meterte a periglo de muerte*, Cron 40b12). The indication of *goal* by the *en*-infinitive is best illustrated in its use with *contender*, *punnar* and *trabaiar* (also taking the infinitives with *de* and *por*), and this is an important extension of the *en*-function (*punnaron en tollerse las tierras*, Cron 5a35; *trabaiastes . . . en ganar çibdades*, Cron 555b6). With *estar*, there is also a development of the *place* function in the preposition, and even greater *immediacy* of action is indicated than with *por* (*estaua en desempararse et dar se ya a morir*, Cron 91b33; *li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343). With *durar* the *en*-infinitive is said to indicate time (*en ganar aquellas villas mio Çid duró tres años*, Cid 1169).<sup>1</sup>

**acordar.**

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *acordar*; *de*, *a*, *por* and *en* with *acordarse*:

acuerdan todos los sabios en contar el fecho de los godos Cron 217b1

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 161.



**andar.**

The prepositions *a* and *por* also introduce the infinitive with *andar*. The equivalent construction of substantive and infinitive is to be noted in this citation:

yo ando en seruicio de Dios et en uengar el mal *Cron* 564a33

**consentir.**

*Consentir* also takes the pure and *de*-infinitives.

non querie consentir con ell en seguir sus malas leys *Cron*  
260b45

**contender.**

Next to *punnar* this is the most frequent verb taking the *en*-infinitive. Much the same sense is found in the two verbs, and with both of these the *en*-infinitive indicates the *goal* of the action (see introductory paragraph, this section). *Contender* also takes *de*, *por* and *pora* with its infinitive, *de* being most affected.

plorando delos oios contendia en orar *SDom* 579

Contendie . . . en fer a Dios plaçer,

Convertir los errados, los pobres apaçer *SMill* 100

Contendien cada dia en fer desaguizado *SMill* 367

les era mester de contender en tenerse et non caer *Cron* 71a22

contendie todauia en uenir a aquellas cosas *Cron* 664a31

mas cataron por contender en matar los enemigos *Cron* 704a19

**cresçer.**

No other infinitive construction occurs with *cresçer*.

cresçio en tener mayor companna *Cron* 574a35

**cuydar.**

The first instance below shows the *en*-infinitive in equivalent construction with the substantive *fechos*. Both cases differ notably from the types with *de*- and with pure infinitive (*cuydo de mentir*, Alix 2271; *non cuydo y peccar*, *SDom* 581), *cuydar* with *en* being strong and literal (*to think about, concerning*).

cuydan en los fechos de la carne et en beuer *Cron* 151b27  
estauan cuydando en escoier rey entressi *Cron* 230a30

**dubdar.**

The *de*-infinitive with *dubdar* does not possess the slightly *temporal* sense given by *en*. The pure infinitive use is frequent with *dubdar*.

non dubdas en meterte a periglo de muerte *Cron* 40b12

**entender.**

The *a*-infinitive also occurs with *entender*.

El nono en cubdiçia mala quitar entiende *Loor* 90

**estar.**

*Estar* with *en*-infinitive indicates even greater *immediacy* of action in the infinitive than *estar* with the *por*-construction (see § 54). Usually it may be rendered by *to be in the act of*. The three instances at hand come from the *Crónica*.

estaua en desampararse e dar se ya a morir *Cron* 91b33  
estudieron todas las conpannas del Çid en guysar sus armas et  
en armarse et en cargar las azemilas *Cron* 637a16  
estando en partirse *Cron* 648b38

**lazdrar.**

No other infinitive construction is at hand for *lazdrar*.

mucho lazdre en la çanar *Cron* 605a30  
. . . Que io tanto lazdrasse en la muerte pedir *Duelo* 125

**pesar.**

The *en*-infinitive is here a variant for the subject-infinitive so common with *de*, or without preposition, and may have a *temporal*, *instrumental* or *modal* function. The personal subject here becomes the indirect object with an impersonal verb.

. . . quel pesarie por uentura en dezirle que . . . *Cron* 644a46

**punnar.**

This is the most frequent verb of the group, *goal* being indicated by means of the *en*-infinitive, in the same way as that

**atreuerse.**

The pure, *de-* and *a-*infinitives are noted with *atreuerse*.

atreuiendosse en lidiar *Cron* 324b13

se atreuien ya en ayuntarse en casa de vn alcalle *Cron* 565b29

**darse uagar.**

tan grand uagar se dio en las yr a assesegar *Cron* 127a6

**delectarse.**

See introductory paragraph, this section, *deleytarse*.

delectandose . . . en cantar a Dios et alabarle et pedirle  
merçed *Cron* 685b9

**deleytarse.**

See *delectarse* above.

se deleyta en ello gloriar *Aliz* 2379

deleytauasse en auer muchas mugieres uirgines *Cron* 187b42

**fallarse.**

In this instance, a developed place function is noted in *en* (cf. *estar* and *ser* with *en*-infinitive above).

fallaron se el et el senado en alongallos lo mas que pudiesen  
*Cron* 230b48

**preciarse.**

The *en*-infinitive may express *manner* or *cause* with *preciarse*.  
The *de*-infinitive also expresses *cause* with this verb.

preciese en servir a Dios *Cron* 311a14

**trabaiarse.**

One instance is noted above of *en*-infinitive with *trabaiar* and without reflexive pronoun. Used reflexively, this becomes a current construction in the *Crónica*. *Trabaiarse* occurs even more often with *de*-infinitive; cf. *punnar* and *contender* above.

trabaiaronse mucho en defender la cristiandat *Cron* 450b2

trabaiuase . . . en echar del regno a Ysem *Cron* 451b51

se trabaiarien si pudiesen en matar a ell *Cron* 457a31

non dexaua . . . de trabaiarse quanto podie en uer . . . *Cron*  
462a51

se trabaiaua de buenas obras, muy mas se trabaio . . . en  
fazer fechos que plazien a Dios *Cron* 491b47

*Trabaiarse* also takes *en*-infinitive in *Cron* 632a33, 724a5.

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH OTHER PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL SUBSTITUTES

77. In this section will be treated the remaining prepositions, simple and composed, that occur in so few instances that individual classification is not necessary. These rarer prepositions and prepositional substitutes make up one of the most interesting word-groups of the language, because they illustrate the natural growth of language through the combination and adaptation of elements already present in the vocabulary of the people. In this way, participles might be utilized as prepositions (*durante, excepto, etc.*).<sup>1</sup> Another method of composing new prepositions was that of using adverbs with simple prepositions (most often *de* or *a*): *acerca de, cerca de, ademas de, menos de, enantes de, fuera de*. In some of these cases a preposition both precedes and follows the adverb. In this way *acerca de* can be analyzed as coming from *ad circa de, enantes de* from *in ante-s de, etc.* The adverb standing alone may be given the functions of a preposition (see *fuera* below). Aside from the method of combining the adverb and simple preposition to form new composed prepositions, there is the preposition and noun combination that likewise occurs quite often. Of this sort are the locutions *en guisa de, en lugar de, en uez de, por razon de, etc.* These, when strictly analyzed, must be considered as a special type of the *de*-infinitive depending on a noun, but being employed in certain combinations so often they take on a group identity of their own. All the Romance languages utilize noun and preposition to form new combinations in the same way as Old Spanish. These combinations are theoretically limited only by the number and sense of the nouns concerned, since nearly all nouns offer themselves as possibilities for such combinations. Aside from these com-

<sup>1</sup> See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 316.

In only one citation above is the epenthetic negative employed after *antes . . . que*, a phenomenon common enough with *mas que* (*antes me quiero yr . . . que non ser uençudo en campo et fincar por aleuoso*, Cron 516a36).

**como a.**

This group occurs once in the *Crónica* with the sense of *as if to . . .*

*çinnossela como a armar cauallero* Cron 719a8

**en guisa de.**

This group illustrates the use of one of the nouns meaning *manner, way, fashion*, etc. similar to the French *de façon* *à* with infinitive.

*en guisa de auer merçet* Cron 675b13

**en logar de.**

This corresponds to the French *au lieu de*, *place where* thus being expressed in French by *à* and in Spanish by *en*.

*En logar de servirte búscote grant pesar* *SMill* 104

*En logar de buscarli serviçio e amor*

*Buscaronli bulliçio e toda desonor* *Duelo* 71

*en logar de mantenerlos en iusticia* Cron 333b43

*en logar de ser consegeros son losengeros* Cron 419a45

**en quanto en.**

Cf. French *quant à* with infinitive. The *en*-construction is found in this instance only.

*dixoles que en quanto en husar ellos sus costunbres* Cron 590b43

**en uez de.**

This group has the same general sense as *en logar de*, but with the noun concept at the basis of the construction *temporal* instead of *local*. The locution *en uez de* is rarer than *en logar de*, and is noted only in the *Crónica*.

en uez de castigar los otros . . . *Cron* 111b6

Fue estonce establecido en vez de comulgar, que cutiano viniesen todos la paz tomar *Cron* 289a2

en uez de sacar Castiella de la premia . . . *Cron* 392b33

**fascas, fasta.**

For provenience from Arabic *atá* and *hacia*, see Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 313.

pero juraron todos, tantos eran esforçados,

que se non fuesen dende fasta seyer vengados *Alix* 582

esto es dotar eglesia fascas darle arras como a esposa de Cristo  
*Cron* 540b6

**fuera, fuera(s) de.**

This group was probably of pre-Romance combination.<sup>1</sup> In this instance also the adverb sometimes took on prepositional functions directly.

Non sabien en la cosa nul conseio tomar,

Fuera yr a los montes otra viga buscar *SMill* 233

Non avie el obispo embargo nin laçerio,

Fuera cantar su missa e rezar so salterio *Mil* 709

non tenie en coraçon fueras de destroyllos *Cron* 49b14

era en todo guisado, fuera de beuir et de conquerir mas *Cron*  
771a10

**por razon de.**

This combination of noun and prepositions, like *por tal de* with infinitive (see below), also expresses *purpose*. Only two examples are at hand, and those from the *Crónica*.

fizieron lo los godos so princep por razon de guerrear con el et  
auer batallas contra las otras yentes *Cron* 233a49

por razon de sacar aun mas auer *Cron* 684a33

**por tal de.**

This interesting combination is noted only in the *Crónica*, but in this text is exceptionally frequent. It expresses *purpose*, and may be considered as a strong substitute for the simple *por*. A rare instance of two *purpose* clauses depending on a

<sup>1</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, § 269.

single finite verb occurs in *los otros por tal de desfoyr la desonra et ell enzeco del pleyto, beuieron poçon por tal de se matar*, Cron 111b47.

por tal de la guardar Cron 122b45

fixieron lo que pudieron por tal de non perder el poder Cron 127a17

Començo a pensar Nero en muchas guisas por tal de no auer a obedecer a Galba Cron 127b43

por tal de auialle el coraçon Cron 128b17

por tal de puair todauia mas, punno en seruir al comun de Roma Cron 168b42

por tal de toller el sennorio a Maximino . . . puso sus pazes con Costantino Cron 182a20

por tal de desfoyr los sacrificios . . . fuxosse pora los montes Cron 184b3

por tal de fincar empaz Cron 214a25

por tal de auer los godos de su parte . . . dio Narbona al rey Theoderico Cron 239b51

por tal de cobrar la partida de la tierra que se quitara dellos Cron 286a31

Also: Cron 268a8, 286b4, 290b19, 314a43, 332a43, 503a33, 733a14.

**saluo de.**

Cf. French *sauf*, also with infinitive.

non pudo auer acuerdo de otro aperçebimiento, saluo de se acoier Cron 756a3

**syn, sin.**

Meyer-Lübke states that *sine* was adopted in all the Romance territory.<sup>1</sup> *Sin* with infinitive occurs rarely outside the *Crónica*. Its sense prevented any great development of function by the preposition.

syn esto entender Aliz 393

sin otro mal lleuar Aliz 2563

se fio en la palaura de sos enemigos sin tomar arrahenes dellos Cron 24a36

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, § 509. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 309.



non deuen escapar sin recebir grandes penas *Cron* 34a49  
sin fazer yo tuerto a to fijo *Cron* 151a41  
fueronse luego sin espedirse allend mar *Cron* 275a4  
tomara el solo el imperio . . . sin dezirgelo antes *Cron* 379b25  
sin ell et sin consentirlo ell *Cron* 431a13

Also: *Cron* 484a23, 534a1, 676a27, 727a35, 728b47, 738b4,  
739b18, 762a12, 127b12.

**sobre.<sup>1</sup>**

This preposition is found with *comer* as the infinitive in two instances. *Comer* is found at times to become largely substantival in nature.

nunca sobre comer non seas denodado *Aliz* 59  
fallecio el uino sobre comer *Cron* 113b29

**sobre razon de.**

In this combination is noted yet another variant for the simple *por* in its *purpose* function (see *por tal de*, *por razon de*).

fueronse pora Burgos sobre razon de fazer esta salua *Cron*  
519a46

<sup>1</sup> For *sobre* and *sobra* see Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 310, 311.

## PART III

### SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH SUBJECT

78. One of the most striking constructions of Old Spanish is the infinitive with subject. Spanish cannot pretend to rival Portuguese in originality of treatment of this construction, since in Portuguese alone is found the personal or inflected infinitive with a distinctive form for each person, the personal ending being added to the infinitive.<sup>1</sup> It is not within the territory of this immediate study to describe in great detail the Portuguese construction, interesting as it is, but it deserves a few words in passing, so that the Spanish construction may not be confused with it. The personal infinitive in Portuguese has the same *raison d'être* as the infinitive with subject in Spanish, i.e. the necessity of defining the subject of the action, especially in those cases where confusion was probable. *Basta ser dominante* is not definite, but with *eu* added, all doubt of the application of the sentence disappears: *Basta ser eu dominante*. Inasmuch as at certain times *ser eu* had the form *seres (tu)* as its correspondent for the second person, *seres* was adopted as an infinitive form with clear indication of the subject. In the same way, other personal endings were borrowed from the conjugated verb to be added to the infinitive for similar use in the other persons. Originally restricted to phrases where the subject of the conjugated verb and that of the infinitive were different, the personal infinitive acquired gradual extension until it was employed where its subject was the object of an active verb, and then where the two verbs had the same subject. It was optional whether the personal infinitive

<sup>1</sup> See Otto, *Der Port. Inf.*, § 54-§ 67.

should be employed when the subject was the same for the two verbs, but when different, the personal form was regular.

In Spanish no endings are borrowed from the conjugated verb for use with the infinitive in order to indicate the subject. The subject takes the nominative form when standing with the infinitive, not the accusative as in Latin, and has no apparent organic connection with any other member of the sentence. This fact is noted by Diez,<sup>1</sup> who goes on to say that such a construction was absolutely foreign to Latin, and that it may be the transformation of a compound proposition into a simple proposition with the nominative form of the pronoun kept intact. Thus *el decirlo yo no os ofenda* may represent *que lo digo yo no os ofenda*, with the legitimate subject retained when the infinitive replaces the finite form of the verb. Diez would in the same manner explain the personal infinitive of the Portuguese. It does not seem to me necessary to seek so complicated an explanation for the Spanish construction. Subject-pronouns were apparently used with the infinitive in much the same way as with any other verb form. For the sake of emphasis, or to avoid ambiguity, the subject-pronouns were employed with ordinary finite verb forms (*quiere que yo diga la verdad*). What more simple than using the same pronouns for the same purpose with the infinitive, especially since, due to the unsettled language conditions of the times, the classical rule of accusative with infinitive might naturally have been forgotten long since by the common people who could neither read nor write? This use of subject-pronouns with the infinitive was especially facilitated by the non-existence in Spanish of intermediate pronominal forms for cases of emphasis and ambiguity (such as the French *disjunctives*). In any event, the fact remains that the ordinary subject-pronouns did function with the infinitive in Spanish and there appears no evidence of any desire to employ the object-pronouns similarly (*Lazdrar tu e tu Fiio*, *Duelo* 92).

<sup>1</sup> *Gram.* III, p. 230, 2.

The sense of the passage would remain perfectly intact if the *por* were omitted and *el rey* made the subject of the infinitive, but, with *por* employed, *el rey* becomes little more than an indirect object, and *obedeçer* is deprived of its subject. Other prepositional relations will be noted in the two cases below, and can be analyzed in some such way as that above:

Grand cosa fue, Eneas, duna muger poder se deffender contra  
tantos enemigos, e non se poder deffender a la tu lengua  
sola Cron 42a41

es bien atales omes solitarios beuir Aliz 1602

Theoretically, any preposition is eligible to govern an infinitive with subject. In practice *de* is by far the most common. A typical example of the *de*-infinitive thus employed is at hand in Cron 692a28: *non serie ligera de mantenerla et gouernarla un prinçep*. Here the comparatively unattached condition of *prinçep* is particularly felt. Furthermore, the use of the *de*-infinitive in this phrase is clearly the same as in such passages as Cron 751a32: *serie guisado de yr*, etc. The prepositional relations in the citations below are numerous and interesting, but do not merit individual explanation at this time. It should be remarked, however, that the subject of the infinitive may be neither a noun nor a pronoun but a whole clause (*Mas porque es graue cosa de se mudar lo que uiene por natura, no pudo estar Nero que al cabo no saliesse del consejo de los sabios*, Cron 124b14).

Dissolis a la ora de la alma essir SMill 299

llego el dia açerca de ponerse el sol Cron 703b46

numqua fazie ninguna cosa a menos de seer y el maestro de las  
uozes Cron 122b49

dioxles que en quanto en husar ellos sus costunbres . . . Cron  
590b43

sin fazer yo tuerto a to fijo . . . Cron 151a41

te terna danno alli por non te querer Dios ayudar Cron 40b47  
non devie . . . sofrir Por tan grant luminaria alli se encobrir  
SMill 40

por auer las naues uagar de se salir Cron 761b28

- el desden de no querer los omnes saber las cosas *Cron* 3a18  
 no era marauilla de tan grand mortandat seer mostrada por  
 tantas sennales *Cron* 236b34  
 se non quiso partir de la postura que tenie dell officio de Francia  
 seer recebido en Espanna *Cron* 542b51  
 serie carrera de auer todos paz *Cron* 410b16  
 repintiosse por quel cresçiera tan grand cobdicia de querer ell  
 auer tod ell Andaluzia tan ayna *Cron* 558b28  
 era cosa desapuesta de tan grand prinçep . . . ueuir desor-  
 denado *Cron* 718a35  
 es rrazon . . . de gelo razonar omne *Cron* 728a50  
 no era derecho ni bien de seer ellos so el poder de los romanos  
 ni aguardallos *Cron* 230a26  
 . . . de uos querer agora assi embargar a uos et a uuestras  
 compannas de leuar muertos a uuestros logares *Cron* 405b31  
 Costumbre era . . . de criar se los donzelles et las donzellas  
 fijos de los altos omnes en el palacio del rey *Cron* 307b30  
 guisado es de fincar uos assy *Cron* 609a30  
 mas noble cosa era de ueerle sus fijas et sus yernos assy *Cron*  
 639b8

Examples of the prepositional object of the finite verb standing in place of the infinitive subject are noted as follows:

- Graue cosa fue all arçobispo de uenir . . . al rey *Cron* 291a19  
 uerguença es a omne de dezirlo nin de oyrlo, et mucho mas ya de  
 seguirlo *Cron* 274a26

#### THE INFINITIVE IN APPPOSITION WITH A NOUN OR PRONOUN

79. The following citations illustrate the use of the infinitive in apposition with some other word in the sentence. This is strictly speaking the grammatical category to which the infinitives in these passages belong, yet probably in few cases did the writer or speaker realize any material difference between the cases of so-called apposition and those of the corresponding regular infinitive constructions. A good example of this type of infinitive occurs in *SOria* 200: *Yo non lo merezria de seer tan honrrada*. To the poet it doubtless made little difference

Lo que el Padre sancto cobdiçiaua ueer,  
exir deste mal sieglo, enel bueno caer,  
de todo su lazerio el gualardon prender *SDom* 488

ca temja lo que era, ueer grant amargura *SDom* 517

metieron se aello de muy buen taliento,  
rogar aDios quel dicesse salut eguarimiento *SDom* 615

Asmaron un conseio, de Dios fue enbiado,  
leuarlo al sepulcro del buen escapulado *SDom* 630

Siempre cobdiçie esto, e aun lo cobdiçio,  
apartarme del mundo, de todo su bolliçio,  
beuir solo en regla, morar entu seruçiõ *SDom* 100

Sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria,  
De vevir solitario commo vevir solia *SMill* 105

Avielo en costumne el santo confessor,  
Non fablar con ninguno, nin exir a labor *SMill* 143

Asmó un buen conseio el varon don Onorio,  
Venir en romeria al sancto oratorio,  
Pregar al cuerpo sancto padron del territorio *SMill* 186

Si a vos semeiasse, nuestro seso tal era,  
Ir sobre leoneses luego de la primera,  
Quebrantar a Remiro, tollerlo de carrera *SMill* 407

El rey . . . Afinó un buen conseio . . .  
Pagar a Santiago por alguna mesura,  
Tornarlo de sue part en esta lit tan dura *SMill* 420

Pero en una cosa era yo acordado,  
Si a vos semeiasse conseio aguisado,  
Prometer al apostolo un voto mesurado *SMill* 422

mas diria vn seso, sy a todos plaçiese,  
de dar salto en ellos *Aliz* 1297

Non es pora buen rrey tal cosa fazedera,  
podiendo entrar dentro, de sallir contra fuera *Aliz* 2206

auie esta manera el rey de grant coraje  
tomarles poca rrenta syl fazien omenaje *Aliz* 2484

. . . Que gelo condonase . . . De fincar con Voxmea *Soria* 100  
qual serie meior: de seruir a moros o a cristianos *Cron* 557b10



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<sup>1</sup> It has not been thought necessary to indicate for all words the orthographical variants most usual in Old Spanish texts: *ç* and *z*; *i*, *j* and *y*; *u* and *v*; *nn* and *ñ*, etc. The forms cited herewith are taken from the texts themselves; hence are not necessarily valid for the whole of the Old Spanish field.

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1

## VITA

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